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NATO's Missile 'Modernization' Measures Viewed

LD081842 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] In NATO military circles, voices can be heard stating that the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles apparently strikes a blow at that bloc's defense capability and that this damage has to be made up somehow. Here is what Military Affairs Observer Colonel Eduard Grigoryev writes in connection with this:

The holes in NATO's nuclear arsenals are, of course, imaginary. From the military viewpoint, the treaty signed has not guaranteed any superiority to anyone, nor has it inflicted any damage. On the other hand, various versions [as heard] of increasing nuclear weapons under imaginary pretexts are real indeed, regardless of how they might be camouflaged. First of all, there was talk of the compensation of those subject to the elimination of arms. This term turned out to be a clear failure; however, what compensatory measures could be meant, if everyone knows that, by the treaty, the Soviet Union will have to eliminate 1 and 1/2 times as many missiles and four times as many warheads as the United States? The word compensation had to be replaced by the word rearmament [dozbrojenie]. It turned out, however, that this was not the best choice either. The word rearmament means increasing arsenals; when it has been decided to begin nuclear disarmament, the idea of an increase will clearly not find support in the world community. In addition, rearmament is linked with NATO's decision in 1979 to locate U.S. intermediate-range and cruise missiles in Europe. In view of this, it was decided to adopt the term: modernization—a word which seems neutral, signifying a natural process of updating out-of-date armaments.

Is this the meaning given to this concept by NATO today? First of all, the question of modernizing NATO's armaments is nothing new. It is linked, albeit artificially, with the treaty on eliminating two classes of missiles. The decision to modernize nuclear arms was taken in Montebello, Canada, at the NATO nuclear planning meeting in October 1983. At that time, nobody even dared dream of a global double-zero option. It was at that time, after all, contrary to the will of the East European nations, that U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles began to be sited. Second, can one call modernization the creation of qualitatively new nuclear arms and increasing their quantity? The treaty on eliminating two classes of missiles, as we know, sets the upper limit for the ranges of the missiles at 500 kilometers. It must not be exceeded. So, the Pentagon began to think, and their train of thought is more of less as follows:

Since one can't have missiles with a range of 500 km or more, then shorter-range missiles are not forbidden. In view of this, it is proposed to modernize Lance missiles. Instead of tactical missiles with a range of 75 miles, make them operational-tactical, with a range of 300 miles. Instead of the 88 existing ones, produce 400 new ones: almost five times more with a fourfold increase in range and, naturally, with an increased explosive force of the nuclear charge [pocisk]. It is stated here unambiguously that it should not be sited only in the FRG, like the Lances, but in Turkey, Norway, and Greece as well.

The signed treaty provides for the elimination of cruise missiles fired from land. What does NATO propose in exchange? Exactly the same cruise missiles, except fired from the air and the sea. The U.S. Joint Chiefs-of-Staff have asked the Strategic Air Command what weapon could be used to cover targets in the Soviet Union after the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Strategic Air Command Commander General John Chain stressed that this task will be entrusted to B-52 and FB-111 bombers, with improved cruise missiles. It has been calculated that these U.S. bombers can be fitted out with at least 230 long-range cruise missiles. In addition, NATO military experts are examining the possibility of putting under this bloc's control U.S. sea-based cruise missiles, deployed in the North Atlantic. According to reports in a UK paper, the U.S. submarines alone, based at Holy Loch in Great Britain, can take aboard 108 cruise missiles. This type of plan to bypass the ban on land-based cruise missiles cannot be called modernization by any means.

At the same time, it is proposed to make considerable increases also in aircraft in the theater of war operations, as it is described in NATO circles. Great Britain eagerly expressed readiness to make available her air base for the deployment of 336 more F-111 U.S. fighter-bombers, as a supplement to the 162 already based there. There are plans to produce new nuclear missiles for them, which could be fired outside the anti-aircraft defense zone. U.S. F-16 fighter planes are to be transferred from Spain to the military base near the Belgian town of Florennes where, as in Greenham Common in England, the U.S. cruise missiles are to be eliminated. Belgium, as we know, is territorially much nearer Eastern Europe than Spain.

So, instead of the 170 Pershing-1B missiles, planned for Western Europe and banned under the treaty, it is proposed to produce 400 analogous missiles, but with a slightly shorter range. The 321 deployed land-based cruise missiles subject to elimination are to be replaced with interest by air- and sea-based cruise missiles. In addition, it is intended to increase threefold the number of aircraft capable of transporting nuclear arms in Europe, of which NATO already has many more than the Warsaw Pact.

After the elimination of the U.S. land-based cruise and Pershing-2 missiles, NATO would have 4,600 nuclear warheads: several dozen times more than those subject to elimination. The eight NATO countries possess nuclear artillery, (?and also) aircraft transporting nuclear weapons. Could this be too little? It is more than enough to destroy life on earth.

NATO's plans to increase nuclear arms, being drawn up, can cause a new spiral in the arms race. The agreements reached on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles, the planned reductions in strategic offensive weapons [words indistinct] will then be cancelled out. At the same time, the confidence built up with such difficulty between the partners [word indistinct] will be undermined—a confidence without which the march towards disarmament is unthinkable.

Nazarkin on U.S. Attitude to CW Talks

LD071959 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] The talks on banning and eliminating chemical weapons will be resumed on 12 January in Geneva. Here is what Ambassador Yuriy Konstantinovich Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva disarmament conference, said about this at a meeting with journalists:

[Begin Nazarkin recording] The talks are being resumed under conditions when the United States has started the production of binary weapons—a new kind of chemical weapon. By starting this production, the United States has taken an unprovoked step toward a new spiral of the chemical arms race. Of course, each participant in the talks has his own position. Each participant in the talks has a right to submit his proposals; we regard them with full attention and respect and are prepared to take them into account. The problem or difficulty is not this point but the fact that one of the participants in the talks, namely the United States, is neither submitting nor accepting any proposals. That's where the problem lies at the talks just now.

As head of the delegation setting off for Geneva, I have to state that I have been instructed to continue doing everything we can to prevent a breakdown of the talks in Geneva and to urge the United States towards them by our actions. This is the main purpose and the main directive of my trip to Geneva. In addition, I have also been instructed by the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to state the following: The Soviet Union is striving persistently to ban and eliminate chemical weapons completely under strict international verification [kontrol]. One of the priority aims and efforts for the continuation of the process of international disarmament initiated by the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is to conclude the corresponding convention as soon as possible. The Soviet Union comes out against spreading chemical weapons and building up its stocks. Reports on the proliferation of chemical weapons and the start of their production cannot fail to cause us concern. Such actions, if they are taking place, do not correspond to the purpose of delivering mankind from the chemical threat and can make more complex the cause of working out a convention on completely banning chemical weapons. We condemn any transfer of chemical weapons, let alone their use by anybody. The Soviet Union calls on other countries to show responsibility and restraint and to refrain from transferring or producing chemical weapons. [end recording]

News Conference Held in Moscow on Eliminating CW

LD072351 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2325 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Washington, 8 Jan (TASS)—A news conference devoted to the problems of eliminating chemical weapons took place at the Soviet Embassy here. The Soviet position aimed at achieving complete and comprehensive ban of this mass destruction weapon was explained at it, and questions from journalists were answered.

The attention of those present was drawn to the fact that during the Washington summit the USSR and United States expressed in a joint statement their adherence to the cause of developing an international convention on banning and eliminating chemical arms and admitted a need for more intensive talks to achieve such a convention. Considerable progress has been attained at the talks on this subject that are underway in Geneva, progress giving rise to hope of freeing mankind from the chemical threat. However, in mid-December the United States started producing a new generation of chemical weapons—binary ammunition. Thus, a step toward a new spiral of the chemical arms race has been taken.

Putting binary shells into production creates a dangerous situation in this area, one which may require the adoption of corresponding measures by the Soviet side. However, stressed the participants in the press conference, the USSR's objective remains that of preventing a breakdown of the negotiations in Geneva, though the actions of the U.S. Administration are pushing things precisely in that direction.

It was also noted that the existing international situation and the huge stocks of mass destruction weapons accumulated in the world require from all states mutual restraint and a search for ways of easing tension rather than an arms buildup. It is the USSR and the United states which must show an example of a sensible approach to reducing weapons arsenals, including arsenals of chemical weapons.

PRAVDA Views Washington Summit Implications

PM081151 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by Academician Ye. Primakov: "Summit Meeting; Look Into the Past and the Future"]

[Text] The most vivid political event of 1987 was obviously the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington, during which the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed.

Is what was achieved accidental? How true is the notion—that is how many people in the West, especially the United States, think—that success was ensured because Reagan, at the end of his second term as President, has addressed problems of arms reduction? Do far deeper, objective, processes not stand behind the "Washington impulse?" To answer these and similar questions, without which it is impossible to assess the results and prospects of the Soviet-U.S. meeting, what is needed first of all is a digression into the past.

Only comparatively recently, few people considered it possible to break the fatal chain: The United States, with the aid of strong-arm methods, was seeking to cast us back; we were actively resisting this; under these conditions, the arms race they inspired developed; the improvement and lack of restraints on the numbers of systems of mass annihilation produced made a thermonuclear catastrophe a real possibility for all mankind.

The problem also had another aspect—the economic one. The point was that not only were we obliged to take part in the arms race, but also that we responded to the United States with a "mirror image," in a symmetrical way. Until the USSR achieved military-strategic equilibrium with the United States, this was dictated by necessity. But these "rules" are by no means universal. Especially since "mirror-image" responses demanded the greatest economic exertion on our part—the Soviet Union's GNP is far less than the American GNP and, according to the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations, to produce a unit of national income, we spend 80% more fixed capital, 60% more materials, and 110% more energy and make 100% more shipments than the United States.

The situation was aggravated by the growth of stagnation phenomena in our economy and in the country's social development in the seventies and the first half of the eighties.

Taking all this into account, after the CPSU Central Committee March (1985) Plenum, the question of the destiny both of socialism and of human civilization as a whole was raised most keenly. An increasing number of arguments accumulated favoring the conclusion that only through the resolute democratization of society, the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the USSR, and the application of the criteria of the new thinking to an analysis of the international situation and the elaboration of the Soviet state's international policy is it possible to defend socialism and bring matters to man's salvation from total destruction.

Both these goals were organically connected. Without the resolute development of the course toward democratization, glasnost, restructuring, and the acceleration of economic development, with any deviation or digression from this course, there will be the worst possible change in international conditions for us, which is fraught with the danger of the full-scale resurrection of the arms race—which is of the utmost danger and is incredibly exhausting.

Immediately after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum the elaboration of a new foreign policy philosophy began. It was a case of two main topics: the need to break the trends leading to thermonuclear war and to optimize the correlation between the funds earmarked, on the one hand, for the reliable (and no one has or can have any doubts on that score) defense of the USSR and its allies and on the other for the acceleration of production growth and the development of the social sphere in the USSR.

The system of principles of the new foreign policy thinking was elaborated in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums and in the speeches and works of M.S. Gorbachev. With respect to the preparation and holding of the Washington meeting, some of them merit special attention:

—a sober consideration of the existence of various state interests and the need to seek areas where they coincide;

—a new approach toward the problem of our own security, which cannot be ensured by depriving the other side of security;

—emphasis on political means as the main ones for ensuring security under present conditions, while military measures must be organized on the basis of reasonable sufficiency;

—realism both in the assessment of situations and in the search for the settlement of vexed issues;

—glasnost as the most important means of influencing public opinion in our country and in the West.

Some of these principles were introduced into practice by V.I. Lenin back at the dawn of Soviet power. This was embodied in the first foreign policy document of Soviet Russia—the Decree on Peace. Here the young Soviet republic was seeking not simply the ending of the war and the conclusion of a just, democratic peace, a peace without annexations and without financial reparations. That was the main thing. But the matter was not restricted merely to declaring these principles and making appeals. The actual text of the Decree on Peace and Lenin's comments on it at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies show how far the party was from a "slogan-based" approach toward what was for hundreds of millions the most stirring issue—the ending of the imperialist carnage.

"Our appeal should be addressed to both governments and peoples," V.I. Lenin said. "We cannot ignore the governments, because then the possibility of concluding

peace is delayed..." It is perfectly obvious here that it was a case of **imperialist** governments to whom the **people's** [boldface words as published] government of Russia, which had literally only just been created, was addressing. "War cannot be ended by renunciation, war cannot be ended by one side," V.I. Lenin insisted.

Speaking of the principled nature of support for the program for a peace without annexations and reparations, Lenin at the same time emphasized the need not to issue ultimatums. This dictated the inclusion in the decree of a clause on readiness "to examine any other peace terms."

Lenin's methodology in approaches to international affairs has played a special role in elaborating the USSR's foreign policy line in recent years. This has been manifested at all stages of preparation for the summit meeting in Washington: in Geneva, in the Soviet leadership's 15 January 1986 statement on the elimination of nuclear weapons and other systems of mass annihilation in Reykjavik.

The advance to the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington was neither smooth nor easy nor direct. Sometimes questions might even arise: Is it possible to overcome the resistance from those circles which secure their existence by developing militarism, is the burden of the past not too heavy and too inert even for attempts to break the fatal chain mentioned above? I remember that in our press too there were debates about whether it was worth dealing with the present U.S. Administration which at the initial stages had shown particularly clearly its desire to block headway. The historical optimism of the supporters of the new philosophy has undoubtedly been vindicated. But it was not simply a case of optimistic forecasts—they were backed up by daily practical activity. It was this which led to results.

As a result of democratization, restructuring, and glasnost in our country and of the bold and flexible foreign policy actions, public opinion in the West has begun to change radically. This largely predetermined the success of the Washington summit. Of course, there is still a long way to go to the collapse of all stereotypes which have been created for such a long time by propaganda hostile to us. But the picture as a whole now differs strikingly from the one which existed just a few years ago. According to public opinion polls carried out by THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, one of the biggest newspapers in the United States, 3 years ago about 60% of Americans considered the USSR to be the "evil empire," while now nearly 70% say they do not believe that.

Of course, in capitalist countries public opinion is by no means always the main factor in developing foreign policy decisions. But its influence is obvious if only in the fact that it reduces the scope for maneuvering by the extreme right-wing forces and strengthens the positions of realistically minded figures. The flexibility displayed by our country in raising fundamental questions of disarmament, for instance in the question of the verification of arms reduction, operates in the same direction. I remember how, back in Geneva, M.S. Gorbachev told Soviet experts: We must modify our attitude toward verification, after all persistent proposals to carry it out only by national means are antagonizing a very large number of people in the West.

Will we continue to give people the opportunity to speculate on the so-called "closed nature" of our society or on how verification is less necessary to us than to the opposing side—that was how the question stood. And when the Soviet Union suggested, in the event of agreement, using international forms of verification and on-site inspection, those who had been accusing us of every mortal sin proved upon verification to be in the position of "emperors who had no clothes." This also played its part, ensuring a shift in our favor in public opinion.

Obviously, it is possible to speak of the next directions in which the summit meeting in Washington may influence the future: the ideas of the consistent process of arms reduction which are being introduced into practice; the renunciation of the counterposing of different salients of the struggle for the normalization of international relations while preserving the priority of the halting of the arms race; the shift in the political axis in the United States from the right to the center.

From the outset of the move toward practical accords on nuclear arms reduction, the USSR has been oriented toward the continuity of the process, its consistent implementation. This was reflected most graphically in the gradual plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the century formulated in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 statement. As is well-known, in Reykjavik we linked in a single package the reduction of all types of nuclear weapons and the problem of not putting these weapons in space. Then the problem of intermediate-range missiles was removed from the package when it became clear that this was the most realistic way out of the deadlock into which the United States' resistance had driven the entire process of arms reduction. But, in tying or untying the package for tactical reasons, we have never renounced the need to seek continuity and consistency for the disarmament process and not to restrict ourselves to agreements which, although they are important, are purely separate.

It may be considered that the intensive talks which Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze had with Secretary of State G. Shultz before the summit meeting were devoted to this. This line of the Soviet Union's has fully justified itself and that is why not only was the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles concluded in Washington but many very important terms were worked out, making possible a subsequent agreement on a 50% reduction of strategic offensive forces linked to the observance of the ABM Treaty for an agreed period. In this connection we should

undoubtedly note the U.S. side's practical consent to renounce the so-called broad interpretation of the ABM Treaty and to return to understanding it as it was signed in 1972.

At the same time, the Soviet Union succeeded in asserting the line toward combining all salients of the struggle for the lowering of international tension. There was a cooling of political speculations on the question of the protection of human rights, which had sometimes been used as a means preventing headway on the path of arms reduction. Also still fresh in our memory is the way in which, before the Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva, top-ranking representatives of the U.S. Administration put forward the following scheme as a logical construct: First, they said, regional conflicts should be settled, then trust should be accumulated, and only after that should there be arms reduction. What happened in Washington in December 1987 was different from the past. All problems, including human rights, were discussed here, but not on a unilateral but a bilateral basis—after all we also have something to say to the Americans on this subject. But the main thing is that this all took place without setting any of the questions discussed against arms reduction.

Of course, there is much which separates and will continue to separate us and the United States. But it is already clear that headway on the path of arms reduction creates a new atmosphere which can be used most fruitfully to resolve all problems—bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations, humanitarian issues, and the very important problem that is the political settlement of regional conflicts.

Naturally, we cannot abstract ourselves from the fact that the extreme rightists are still very powerful and do not yet accept the new thinking. It is they who stand behind the intensive deliveries of U.S. weapons to the dushmans, who are complicating the stabilization of the domestic situation in Afghanistan. Their direct influence is also leaving its mark in the fact that the Nicaraguan contras are armed to the teeth—that is what is jeopardizing the peace process, to which impetus was given by the decision of five presidents of Central American countries. It is they who are organizing resistance to the idea of a peace conference on the Near East—the only process which can lead to an all-embracing settlement in this region. It would be premature to believe that even those extreme rightists who are not now offering point-blank resistance to the accords in Washington will be obliged will be prepared to act in the same way with respect to the continuation of this process. In particular we are put on our guard by the fact that on 16 December the United States embarked on the production of binary weapons, although the exchange of opinions which took place during the summit meeting did not, to put it mildly, predispose to this decision.

Nonetheless, the extreme rightists in the United States are now losing their virtual monopoly on decision-making. Of no less importance for the future is the fact that they have lost their halo of "respectability" acquired under the present administration. And that is also one of the political results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Washington. In an interview, defending his compromise position, President Reagan accused those on whom he used to rely—the extreme conservative circles—of failing to rule out a war against the Soviet Union and being unable to make a competent judgment of all the subtleties of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Many U.S. political observers have urged that these differences should not be underestimated.

The long-term significance of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's visit to Washington also lies in the fact that a new dimension of U.S. foreign policy life directly connected with U.S. relations with the USSR appeared in contrast. While I was in Washington I saw a television speech by one Democratic Party candidate for the presidential nomination—Governor Dukakis. He said that Americans should elect as president a man of broad erudition, a well-informed man to spend the next 4 years (the presidential term) sitting at the same table as M.S. Gorbachev and resolving positively with him the most important questions. Resolving, and not thumping the table, which even recently was regarded in Washington as the main criterion of a president's "competence" in his contacts with the Soviet Union.

How will development proceed in the future? Obviously through new breakthroughs, perhaps through zigzags but, I would like to hope, without any important deviation. Indeed, mankind has no other path.

Korolev Outlines Treaty Ratification Process

LD081201 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 8 Jan 88

["How International Treaties Are Ratified in the USSR"—TASS headline]

[Text0) Moscow January 8 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty is now in the government which will refer it to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR.

What will be its further way to ratification? A TASS correspondent put this question to Yuriy Korolev, head of a department at the Secretariat of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"According to the procedure sealed in Constitution of the USSR: Only the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union may decide whether to ratify an international treaty concluded on behalf of the USSR or not", he said. "As far as the ratification procedure common to all international treaties is concerned, it consists of several stages".

"The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, upon receiving an important treaty directs the foreign affairs commissions of the two houses of the Soviet parliament—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—tentatively to consider it".

"The commissions at their joint meeting hear a report by a government spokesman, ordinarily the minister of foreign affairs, and opinions of experts, discuss the document, work out their attitude to it, and refer their recommendation and conclusion to the Presidium".

"The head of government or his deputy makes a report at the Presidium's meeting at which the ratification question is raised. Then the conclusion of the foreign affairs commissions is heard and the treaty is discussed. If the Presidium members have no observations concerning the treaty or objections to it, a decision is taken. Usually, the president of the Presidium immediately signs a decree on ratification".

"This is how it happens [words indistinct] a treaty raises no doubts. One should bear in mind, however, that a treaty between two countries is a mutual and mutually binding document. Therefore such treaties are ratified on the basis of full reciprocity".

"As far as the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is concerned, it can be expected that it will be ratified in the Soviet (?Union) approximately at the same time as this will be done in the United States. It must be pointed out that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has already in a general form expressed approval of the treaty".

"We want the treaty to be ratified as soon as possible, for the treaty signed in Washington by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by President Ronald Reagan of the United States meets the interests of all people on earth and the interests of peace", Yuriy Korolev said.

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'
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["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator; with Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, international affairs journalist; and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor of the newspaper GOLOS RODINY and the magazine OTCHIZNA]

[Text] [Kassis] Exactly a month has passed since the Soviet-U.S. summit ended in Washington. That meeting was marked by an important event: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, signed a Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. That means the first step has been taken toward the real destruction of the nuclear arsenal, and it would be difficult to overestimate its importance. This is a step into the future—a practical step on the path to a nuclear-free world and the implementation of man's sacred right to live. The chronicles of our age believe that 8 December 1987 will stand out in the annals of human history as the date signifying the watershed dividing the era during which the nuclear threat was building up from the era of demilitarization of the life of mankind. It is not surprising, therefore, that it is not only the public of our country and of the United States that has hailed with enthusiasm the results of the Washington summit; they have also been welcomed by governments and public movements on all five continents. Today, now that the line has been crossed, one can say without exaggeration that the entire world warmly approves that historic event accomplished a month ago. It is no secret, after all, that apart from anything else, the Soviet-U.S. treaty promotes establishment of trust in Soviet-U.S. relations. Every breakthrough in the direction of improving Soviet-U.S. relations has, in turn, a favorable effect on alleviating tension in the world generally. As a result, the new political climate creates the right conditions for expanding the possibilities and developing cooperation between East and West, both in the economic and cultural spheres. That chain reaction in international affairs serves the interests of peace and progress of all mankind

[Andrianov] All that is true, of course, Vadim Borisovich. But at the same time, one would not be justified in supposing that such a chain reaction can occur by itself, without the appropriate conditions. We cannot hope, after all, that the train of disarmament will now rush forward and gain speed by inertia. You only have to remember how much effort went into achieving the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Solving that complex problem was by no means easy. It is clear that it would not have been possible if the socialist countries had not acted in a united and coordinated manner, if they had not waged a stubborn and consistent struggle for disarmament, and had not put forward an integrated program of measures in that direction, including those that we have now succeeded in implementing. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has said, the Soviet delegation at the talks with President Reagan was acting on the basis of a mandate, as it were, from our friends and allies. This, said the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave extra weight to our position and at the same time enhanced our sense of responsibility for the outcome of the Soviet-U.S. talks. Therefore, Comrade Gorbachev noted, we have every justification for considering that the success achieved in Washington was the result of our joint efforts.

[Agayants] As you know, the first real results on nuclear disarmament were warmly approved at a meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Pact member-states held in Berlin. It was noted with satisfaction that this was an expression of the general peaceloving course of the Warsaw Pact states and of the initiatives and actions of the socialist countries, which unswervingly advocate lowering the level of confrontation and moving on to mutually useful cooperation in world affairs: Our credo is peace and disarmament.

[Kassis] World socialism is a decisive factor for peace and progress. That is obvious to anyone who knows what constructive plans the peoples of the countries of the socialist community are now engaged in. They have set themselves the majestic [as heard] tasks of switching their national economy onto the rails of intensive development by utilizing the achievements of science and technology. A powerful catalyst of these positive processes in the fraternal states has been the restructuring being carried out in the Soviet Union. Our friends and comrades-in-arms in the common cause are well aware that the course we have chosen operates to the advantage of socialism as a whole. They are conscious that this course actively promotes the deepening of the interaction of the fraternal states and fills their cooperation in the political, economic, and other spheres with new content. The majority of the fraternal countries have now embarked upon the paths of renewal, restructuring, and of strengthening socialism, and of a fuller realization of its advantages. Needless to say, we are not imposing our model of restructuring on anyone, since each of the socialist countries has its own unique particularities, potential, traditions, and ways of approaching its tasks. Each of them is carrying out its socioeconomic reforms and developing the democratization of its society independently by its own forms and methods.

[Andrianov] The process of restructuring has not escaped the attention of Western propaganda, which serves it up, however, in its own manner, with an accompaniment of idle fabrications and pseudo-predictions. As if that were not enough, attempts are being made to offer unasked-for recommendations. Here is just one example. The American and West European bourgeois press has lately been veritably flooded with material about Czechoslovakia. The authors of such articles have been unstinting in their assessments of that

country's past, present, and future. These attentions would seem to be easily explained. It is true that important events have occurred in Czechoslovakia quite recently. Last month a plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee adopted a program for the restructuring of the economic mechanism. It elected Milos Jakes as general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. But it is only at first glance that all this may look like the real reason for the West's increased interest in Czechoslovak affairs.

[Agayants] Of course, Boris Vasilyevich, it is not the present restructuring in Czechoslovakia as such that is attracting the attention of the Western press. It is no more than a convenient pretext for holding forth on a quite different subject: namely, the events of 1968. It is customary to date their beginning from the CPCZ Central Committee Plenum held on 5 January of that year; and it is the dramatic turn in the development of Czechoslovakia 20 years ago that bourgeois propaganda now evidently intends to harp on.

[Andrianov] It was, incidentally, doing the same things in years past, when it was exalting to the skies the so-called Prague Spring and crying anathema upon the international assistance of the fraternal socialist countries to the Czechoslovak people. But on this occasion the bourgeois press in the West is giving the matter a sophisticated demagogic twist: It is persistently trying to impose its story that restructuring and glasnost in the Soviet Union now is the same thing as what the Prague Spring signified in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago. So it turns out that the CPCZ leadership at that time was a couple of decades ahead of the Soviet leaders in implementing reforms and democratization! From this the appropriate conclusion is drawn that the aspirations of the leaders of the Prague Spring were progressive, and that, therefore, one should supposedly reconsider their role in those events of 20 years ago and appraise it positively, so as to make use of the experience of those figures in promoting the further development of Czechoslovakia. What this means in practice is to give so-called carte blanche to the opposition, in other words, to repeat what followed in Czechoslovakia after January 1968.

By the way, Nikolay Ivanovich, you were working in Czechoslovakia at that time, so we would like to hear from you as an eyewitness of what was then going on in the CSSR.

[Agayants] Yes, Boris Vasilyevich, it so happened that toward the end of 1967 and the beginning of 1968, I was in Czechoslovakia on a professional assignment. Wherever I went at that time—Kosice, Bratislava, Brno, Prague—and whoever I talked with on the eve of the January plenum, representatives of the creative intelligentsia, students, workers, party officials, both the conversations and the situation itself presaged obvious changes. As early as the beginning of the sixties, the development of socialism in the CSSR had already encountered many difficulties. Mistakes that had accumulated over the years had lead to stagnation in the life of Czechoslovak society. Life insistently demanded that the CPCZ improve the methods by which it exercised its leading role. But the last thing that the party leadership under Antonin Novotny, with its window-dressing, bureaucratic style, was concerned about was the destiny of the country and the destiny of the people. By running ahead and proclaiming unrealistic slogans, that leadership discredited the party in the eyes of the Czechoslovak public and undermined its links wiht the working people and faith in the policy being pursued by the CPCZ.

It was clear that the time had come for serious changes. Everyone in the country was expecting renewal. Then came the January plenum, at which the change in the CPCZ leadership took place, with Alexander Dubcek being elected to the post of first secretary. I recall his speech on television, and the correctness of what he said in his address to the people. In those first days immediately after the CPCZ Central Committee plenum, I assure you, it would have been hard to imagine that events would begin to develop so rapidly and in the direction that was later to lead to the strengthening of the position of the right; or that Dubcek, having first unscrupulously surrendered his positions under pressure from the revisonists, would end up as a screen for the subversive activity of the anti-socialist forces.

[Andrianov] There is no disputing that the slogans and appeals that appeared after the January plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, in which the words democratization and renewal occurred, are in many ways similar to those being widely heard today in our country. The plenum itself, with its resolutions speaking of firm unity wiht the Soviet Union, further development of socialist democracy, consistent removal of shortcomings in the economy and in the life of society, consolidating the alliance of the Czechs and Slovaks on the basis of the Leninist principles of nationalities policy, was an objectively necessary event in the life of the country and met with the full support of the majority of the Communists and citizens of the CSSR. But the question is, what followed after that plenum? The answer to it will enable us to judge whether it can be asserted that the Prague spring is akin to restructuring in the Soviet Union.

[Agayants] Let me say right away that the decisions of the January 1968 Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee unfortunately remained, in effect, on paper. That happened because the right-wing opportunist CPCZ leadership at the time failed to draw up a realistic plan of action in the economy, in the social sphere, and in the field of culture. Moreover, the course of that leadership led not only to a weakening of party positions, but also to the undermining of the foundations of socialism in the country. As the newspaper RUDE PRAVO recently wrote, this was the result of the fact that in the very leadership of the party, a right-wing revisionist group had been formed which, under demagogic slogans, was intent upon revising the CPCZ's general line, destroying

the political structure of socialist society in the name of the petty bourgeois element, and altering the foreign policy orientation of Czechoslovakia. It thereby opened a field of activity for the anti-socialist forces.

[Kassis] We should also remember, perhaps, that the right-wing opportunist and anti-socialist forces formed a political bloc. They were united by their common struggle against the Marxist-Leninist party, against socialism and the Soviet Union. For that reason, this political bloc acquired the all-around support of international imperialism, which had obtained an opportunity to carry out in the CSSR the plans it had long being hatching in relation to the entire system of socialism. There is something else one must not forget: The anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia, like the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956, had it in mind that if their plans met with resistance, they would launch a not only moral but also physical reign of terror against citizens devoted to the cause of socialism.

[Andrianov] So what then can one find in common between our restructuring and the events in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago? Precisely nothing of the kind! Lurking behind these attempts to compare two absolutely opposite phenomena is a not very artful striving on the part of certain circles in the West to take under their protection the representatives of the right-wing forces in Czechoslovakia who were intending to foist on their country a development of counterrevolutionary tendency. None of this is suprising, of course. The international reactionaries never fail to extend the hand of assistance to counterrevolution. One of the confirmations of this is provided by the events surrounding Afghanistan.

[Kassis] Yes, the attention of the world public has been focused this week on events connected in one way or another with the difficult and painful Afghan problem. I refer above all to the trip to Kabul by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and the visit at much the same time of Michael Armacost, U.S. under secretary of state, to Islamabad. As President Najibullah has noted, since the adoption of the new Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan, a constitution born on the crest of the national reconciliation policy, the widest possibilities have been opened up in that country for realizing the democratic potential of Afghan society in light of that policy and in light of the new thinking, both of which are directed toward settling the situation both in Afghanistan itself and around it. Those who have no interest in that are erecting all kinds of obstacles and impediments against finding a way out of the crisis situation. They are drowning the question in endless verbiage about the timing of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghan territory.

[Agayants] Here, Vadim Borisovich, I rather think that one should bring complete clarity to the problem we are now discussing. New thinking and new approaches are quite clearly discernible in the position of the leadership of the DRA, as was indeed shown by Comrade Shevardnadze's latest talks in Kabul. It was noted in particular that on the whole, the situation is now developing favorably at the Afghan-Pakistan talks through the UN secretary-general's personal representative. All this gives hope for a speedy completion of a political solution of the external aspects of the Afghan problem. The Afghan side is constructively preparing for the next round of these talks with the intention of concluding the appropriate agreement at them.

[Andrianov] If that happens, and if nothing hampers the talks, and one can perceive attempts to protract them, if not wreck them, then a commitment on halting interference will come into operation. Under the documents that have been prepared, as Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze noted in his BAKHTAR interview at the conclusion of his working visit, the USSR and the United States will act as guarantors of this commitment. It should be particularly emphasized that the U.S. side agrees to act as a guarantor and accordingly to halt its aid to the dushmans.

[Kassis] In theory, Boris Vasilyevich, it would seem so, but we cannot but be surprised and concerned by the fact that right at the beginning of this year, or more precisely on 2 January, President Reagan sent the ringleaders of the Afghan counterrevolution a message assuring them that the United States would continue and even considerably broaden its military and political support for the freedom fighters, which is the name Washington uses for the Afghan dushmans. May I remind you that in the last financial year alone U.S. military aid amounted to $660 million, according to THE WASHINGTON POST.

The present trip to Islamabad by Michael Armacost and his meetings and conversations with the leaders of the Afghan opposition show that there is a sharp divergence between Washington's words and its deeds. Another important aspect, which has already been mentioned here, is that this concerns the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

[Andrianov] The so-called Afghanistan problem, as Najibullah, the Republic's president, has repeatedly emphasized, is not the problem of the presence there of Soviet forces. It is apt to recall that the Government of Afghanistan repeatedly appealed to the Soviet Government before at last obtaining its agreement on the introduction into the country of a limited contingent. It has long been known that the Soviet military units are ready to return home, and the withdrawal of Soviet regiments from Afghan territory has already begun.

[Kassis] Yes, that is all so. In addition, both the Soviet-U.S. summit talks in Washington a month ago and also speeches by Soviet leaders have clearly and unambiguously set out our position on this issue, which has been worked out in accord with the Afghan side. The political decision has been made, and the time scale has been

specified as 12 months. I would remind you that this time scale could be less, depending on the development of events inside the country.

The date for the start of the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan must also be simultaneously at the beginning of a cessation of weapons assistance and financial aid for the dushmans. From the first day, just as soon as this is announced, the Soviet forces are being withdrawn from Afghanistan. They will not take part in military operations except for in self-defense. These proposals have been thoroughly considered and thought out, and a normalization of the situation inside the republic itself and and around it is now fully possible. However, this requires goodwill from all sides involved in the conflict. It seems to me that there is a plain shortage of such goodwill on the part of the opponents of national reconciliation and those backing the dushmans.

[Andrianov] Nevertheless, one would like to hope that the forces that have become involved in the inter-Afghan conflict will eventually manage to grope their way to ties that will bring about achievement of nationwide concord and reconciliation. They would provide a chance both to their own people as well as to the world as a whole.

[Kassis] Well, colleagues, one must say that the first 10 days of the new year have really flown by. According to the calendar in Eastern countries, it is the year of the dragon. Many amusing stories and legends have been spread around the world on this subject. As always, the Japanese mass information media have been particularly assiduous.

[Andrianov] However, I rather think that reports on the revival of Japanese militarism have taken up just as much, if not more, space in the Japanese press. The present government of the Land of the Rising Sun is providing a great deal of grounds for this. After all, Japan's links with the United States, as provided for in the so-called Japanese-U.S. security treaty, are becoming more and more stable and vigorous.

[Kassis] A characteristic thing is that at a time when many countries of the Far East area are consistently pursuing a peace-loving policy and advocating equal and peaceful cooperation among the states of the Asia-Pacific region, Japan and its reactionary forces are seeking every pretext, for instance, to create hindrances to the development of good neighborly relations with our country. Take albeit Japan's territorial aspirations, which are supported and kindled by the United States and South Korea.

[Andrianov] I would, Vadim Borisovich, perhaps note the fact that, if the question of the so-called northern territories did not exist, some other slogan would be dreamed up in its place for the purpose of becoming the heart of anti-Soviet propaganda.

[Kassis] That is a fair point, but I would like to especially stress the recent statement by Prime Minister Naboru Takeshita that Japan should not give up increasing its military expenditure and further building up the combat power of the Japanese armed forces. One gets the definite impression that a relaxation of tension does not very much accord with the interests of influential groups in Japan's ruling camp.

For the new year the Japanese Cabinet and the National Defense Agency presented their co-citizens with a unique kind of gift—a whole bouquet of military plans. They include a military budget, which has increased by a little over 5%, a plan to increase allocations for the upkeep of U.S. military bases on Japanese soil, major loans for the creation of new-generation support fighters, and a specific contribution to the Star Wars program.

[Andrianov] Finally, there is their latest venture involving aircraft carriers.

[Kassis] This sensational news was carried in the first days of the new year by the daily YOMIURI. According to the information that the editorial staff of these newspapers had gleaned from a secret document, the command of the Japanese self-defense navy has drawn up a program to include aircraft carriers in the navy.

It is assumed that the design of the Japanese aircraft carriers will resemble that of the British aircraft carrier "Invincible". Their displacement will be 16,000 tonnes, and each will carry up to 10 aircraft capable of vertical takeoff and landing. One must say that this game with aircraft carriers, far from being a children's game, has already caused public concern both in Japan itself and in certain Asian countries. In this connection, the daily newspaper YOMIURI writes that the above-mentioned plan exists today on paper only; nevertheless, it may cause serious concern in the neighboring countries, which are apprehensive about the Japanese military presence in Asia.

When I worked as a correspondent in Japan, I often heard the expression: The Spirit of Yamata. What is it? In short, it is Japanese militant nationalism. The routing of Japanese imperialism in World War II, one would think, should have forced the postwar Japanese leaders to critically reappraise their aggressive doctrines. They could not at that time count on expanding Japan's sphere of influence either into neighboring Asian countries or into the entire world in the future. But Tokyo did not want to renounce its old goals. Striving to obliterate the atrocities committed by the Samurais from the memory of the peoples populating the Far Eastern Pacific countries, the Japanese authorities have not given up hopes of playing the dominant role in that region.

It is true, though, that Tokyo was assuring the world that it was aspiring for nothing more than the economic expansion of its might and that it had renounced its

military ambitions for good. In 1957, Japan's first official military program was endorsed. It was called then: The Main Course in the Area of Defense. It was precisely in that document that a potential enemy was named for the first time: the Soviet Union. It was precisely at that time the term, the Northern Threat, appeared in the Japanese press. The Main Course in the Area of Defense envisaged the development of a powerful submarine fleet and anti submarine airforce.

[Andrianov] Now the Japanese military has started talking about aircraft carriers to boot.

[Kassis] Yes, their construction is actually not far off. It is scheduled for 1991. One would like to add to the above that even in those distant years, an extensive plan for regular joint exercises conducted by the self-defense forces and U.S. subunits stationed on Japanese territory was developed. Here is an interesting detail: Until now, Japan had held 10th place in the world in terms of military allocations. The current military budget could secure fifth or sixth place for that country which, according to the constitution, cannot have armed forces at all.

[Agayants] One could say with certainty that without Uncle Sam, the Japanese military would have found themselves in dire straights. Yet, as the U.S. magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT recently wrote, although that same Uncle Sam still patrols vast areas in the non-communist world, he has increasing difficulties in finding a parking place for his police car.

[Kassis] Absolutely, Nikolay Ivanovich. The U.S. allies, satellites, and other seemingly friendly countries, from Madrid to Manila, are threatening to annul America's rights to keep U.S. military bases on their territories. But Japan is silent. For the Soviet Union, as one of the leading and largest Asian powers, ensuring security in Asia is of vital importance. Our program for eliminating nuclear and chemical arms by the end of this century appeals in the highest degree to the mood of the peoples of the Asian Continent and the entire Asia-Pacific region, because the problems of peace and security are no less acute for its population than for the peoples of Europe.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has emphasized that we regard our program as a considerable contribution to the search for a general and comprehensive approach to forming a system of secure and stable peace on that continent, a search that is being conducted jointly with all the Asian countries.

[Andrianov] In our conversation today, we have touched upon just a tiny fraction of the problems we have inherited from the last year. There is quite a number of difficult and complex tasks ahead in this year, which has just counted off its first 10 days. However, the fact that they are going to be solved in a different international situation than before instills hope because there is now more mutual confidence and readiness to cooperate in the world. This cannot fail to have an effect on relations between countries, and of course, for the better.

With this, we close our meeting at the roundtable. All its participants thank you for your attention, esteemed comrade listeners. Goodbye, and all the best to you.

Prague TV Roundtable on Future of INF Treaty

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[Roundtable discussion with moderator Jan Zelenka, Czechoslovak TV director general; Gennadiy Gerasimov; Nikolay Shishlin; and Josef Moravek, Prague TV foreign policy commentator—Gerasimov and Shishlin speak in Russian with superimposed Czech translation; no video available]

[Text] [Zelenka] Good evening, dear and esteemed listeners. At today's roundtable I am meeting once again the figures of the Soviet journalism and Soviet politics, who are well, very well-known to you and who were also present in Washington. I will introduce them to you, although as I say, it is almost unnecessary. I present Comrade Gennadiy Gerasimov and Comrade Nikolay Shishlin. You heard both of them from Washington, just as you heard from the proceedings of the Washington talks Comrade Jose Moravek, our foreign policy commentator, who was present there.

However, at today's roundtable we do not want to speak about Washington in particular. We held a lot of discussions. After the return of the journalists from Washington, both the civilian and the military specialists spoke about these questions, too. This means, I think, that the Washington treaty that proceeded from the talks in Washington has been sufficiently discussed with you. I would like to use the presence today of Comrade Gerasimov and Comrade Shishlin to speak about further steps in 1988. What will happen next? The accords in Washington have opened something. True, they have more of a psychological effect, rather than having an altogether specific nature, although this specific nature cannot be easily omitted. But, all the same, the main thing is still to follow. However, the Washington accords are still lacking something. This something is their ratification, the ratification itself.

Therefore, my first question is: What do you think? Is ratification still facing any kind of obstacles, or is there a hope that it will be ratified in the next few days? In 2 weeks it will be discussed by the U.S. Congress, and it will certainly be discussed soon in the Supreme Soviet as well. In other words, what is the hope that the schedule will be adhered to and that nothing will be able to hamper the implementation of these agreements? Comrade Gerasimov, if you please.

[Gerasimov] As early as September, when we went with the foreign minister to Washington, we asked the United States this question. At that time the treaty did not exist. They said the treaty would be ratified. Now we are asking the United States the same question again. They say with more certainty that it will be ratified. President Reagan himself said in one of his speeches during Comrade Gorbachev's visit: Those who are against the treaty in Washington have either not read it or feel deep down in their hearts and in their minds that war is unavoidable. He was very sharply criticized for this sentence by his former right-wing political allies. This means that the treaty itself will be ratified, more so that the U.S. allies are for this treaty, too, and the U.S. Administration is also for it. This means that it is very difficult to directly criticize the treaty itself. (?This relates) to anybody, but those who are in principle against disarmament and against the treaty with the Soviet Union may try to drown this through so-called amendments and comments. These are the lethal amendments, as they say. They will try to link this to some other problem, for example, to the conventional armaments in Europe, or even to the emigration from the Soviet Union, or to some other problem. However, I still think they will not succeed.

[Zelenka] Then you are giving it a green light.

[Gerasimov] No, yellow.

[Zelenka] Then yellow, yellow before green, and not yellow before red; am I right?

[Shishlin] I think there is a deadline [cara] before the U.S. Administration, and that is U.S. President Reagan's anticipated visit to Moscow. President Reagan must bring the ratification in his political baggage. This specifies the position of the White House; it sets it. Another element of today's situation consists, in my view, mainly of the fact that as the U.S. public opinion poll has shown 74% of the Americans polled, you know this number is usually stable, are for the treaty.

Gennadiy Ivanovich spoke about the position of the allies. I think the world political background to the entire discussion on the fate of the treaty is very important, and this political background is favorable. Therefore, it will certainly take some nerve with regard to the destiny of the treaty. The process of ratification cannot take place so simply and smoothly. Yet it seems today that the chances of ratification of the treaty are quite excellent. I must pay tribute to President Reagan, who is really trying very hard. He has already organized a number of discussions in the Congress with senators, and the number of senators who spoke sharply against the treaty is beginning to diminish.

[Unidentified Czech speaker] We also should not forget that in the United States, although the elections will not be held until November, the election campaign has actually started, and the presidential candidates are trying to prove—more less whatever it might cost—that President Reagan had a weak second presidential term and, should they be elected, they would be strong presidents. This means that whatever President Reagan has done was weak in their view. But it seems that the treaty is so much outside normal politics, outside normal U.S. domestic politics, that it is getting through in spite of this.

[Unidentified Russian speaker] Yes, certainly. Do you remember what it was like in Washington when a discussion was broadcast on television with six Democratic and six Republican candidates? All the Democrats were for the treaty, and only one Republican favored it then.

[Unidentified Czech speaker] So the next Republican candidate...

[Unidentified Russian speaker, interrupting] The next Republican candidate changed its position and went over to supporting the treaty. So what looked at the beginning like an advantageous political position is not advantageous today. Those who make claims on the office of vice president [Si noarokuji finkci viceprezidenta] are changing over to the position of supporting the treaty. They understand that it would not be to their advantage to oppose it. This shows that everything has changed in the right direction.

[Unidentified Czech speaker] I think our viewers would also be interested in how ratification would look in the USSR.

[Unidentified Russian speaker] I think it would be quieter than in the United States. Although the ratification process on its own in the USSR is also [incomplete sentence as heard] Undoubtedly, comrades from the Foreign Ministry will be heard in the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Unions and the Soviet of Nationalities. The treaty will be worked out carefully.

I do not want to hide that in the USSR, too, not everybody unanimously approves of the treaty. Well, the USSR is eliminating a greater number of carriers and more nuclear warheads and people ask: Why, why this asymmetry? So it is necessary for the people who are responsible for this political decision to show that we have arrived at the same results—at two zeros—for both the United States and the USSR, and we have arrived at the same result also from the viewpoint that this treaty does not change the balance of power or violate military-strategic parity either in Europe or from the global point of view, and does not adversely affect the interests of our allies but has only a positive effect.

There are fewer missiles and nuclear warheads but more security. I agree that this contains elements of arithmetic. Simple arithmetic would run as follows: Why are we eliminating more missiles than the United States? We actually lose out on this. This is what people say. Here it

will be necessary to prove convincingly that no, we are not losing out. Two classes of missiles are eliminated, and both sides will only gain by this in the form of greater security.

[Zelenka] So we have established that in your country the presidium of the Supreme Soviet has the right to ratify—that is right, is it not?

[Unidentified Russian speaker] Of the Supreme Soviet.

[Zelenka] So it is not the Supreme Soviet that has to approve it but the Presidium?

[Unidentified Russian speaker] That option is possible; it is not excluded. In view of the importance of the treaty, I can even admit the idea that during discussion in the commission for foreign affairs, a proposal could be put forward that in this given case, ratification should be carried out not only through the Presidium but by a full session of the Supreme Soviet.

I believe the discussion of this problem in our country will take place, to a certain extent, parallel with the discussion in the United States; in other words we, in our analysis and discussion, will take account of how it is proceeding in the United States.

[Zelenka] I think that now we can now move on from the actual matter of the agreement signed in Washington and interest ourselves in the further steps in 1988. At the press conference in Washington itself, and all the more so in your various appearances, the view was expressed that discussion had already taken place in Washington on the principles or, to put it another way, the theses of an agreement on strategic weapons. So how are these theses now being implemented? Is it realistic to expect that an agreement on strategic weapons could also be completed this year?

[Shishlin] Let Gennadiy Ivanovich answer first; I will speak later.

[Gerasimov] This question interests everyone. Even the Americans are asking this, and in Moscow, too, the people are asking it. There is talk that President Reagan is proposing to travel to Moscow. This will probably be at the beginning of the summer this year, and we and the Americans take it that he will be coming to Moscow in order to sign a completed agreement. The Americans start out from the presumption that it will be ready and prepared, and we start out from this same position as well. In other words, a great deal of spadework has to be done by the diplomats and military experts who must prepare the text of this agreement in keeping with instructions worked out in respect to this matter in Washington. I am always saying: Look, there are, of course, very many difficulties standing in the way of this agreement, but the political will of both sides is here, both on one side and the other. When there is good will, there is also the possibility of solving this problem. So that is what my answer would be: Yes, it is possible, and it is very desirable.

[Shishlin] Yes, and I would add this to what has already been said. Now we have built up a definite new potential for genuinely productive talks. I have in mind the working-out of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. That, of course, is capital on which to build in the next round of Geneva talks on strategic offensive weapons, but there are many difficulties here. Gennadiy Ivanovich has said that. After all, we are exploring the possibility of solving the question of a 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons on the understanding that a very precise, clear agreement will be reached on strict adherence to the provisions of the ABM Treaty for a certain agreed time, for a certain period to be agreed in advance. Our television viewers, I believe, understand perfectly well that SDI is a shadow over this matter. Let me repeat this: SDI is a shadow over this, and this, of course, is a rather complicated problem, both from the military-political point of view and from the point of view of pure negotiation. However, just now we are not discussing this particular problem. Our diplomats and the American ones have to work out this draft agreement, yes agreement. In addition, we and the Americans have agreed that an accord will be reached on adhering to the ABM Treaty for a definite fixed time. We would like this period to be forever but at least 10 years; the Americans are proposing a shorter time period. They are not saying they will not adhere to it; they are simply proposing a shorter time period. Personally I do not see any particular problems here. It is later on that problems with SDI will arise—in a few years time, in my view, only when the text already exists that problems will arise. However, I would like to make it absolutely clear that work on the treaty did not begin in Washington.

Washingotn gave only an additional stimulus to the talks. However, in a certain way the rough outline of the agreement already exists. The main elements of the agreement are already a reality. They exist: the 50% cut and the level of cuts, how the reductions are to be made, how the cuts should be made. Washington here greatly reduced the level or, to be more accurate, in Moscow when Mikhail Sergeyevich met Shultz, these sublevels were defined and were corrected in Washington. So if we are to set it out in percentages, the chances are more or less like this for a successful conclusion of the working out of the treaty: 55% to 60% that they will succeed in putting it together in time for Reagan's visit to Moscow, and the other 40% is that it might not happen. But psychology has a great deal of influence here: prediction. When you predict that something will happen in politics, then you will cherish that hope in an appropriate way so that it comes true. Thus, you increase the chances of its succeeding; that is why we have to be optimistic in this case. Also, we are always saying that the first agreement is just the beginning. Here I mean the intermediate- and

shorter-range missiles. This treaty in itself will not succeed in standing firmly on its own two feet for a long time; we have to back it up with further steps because the principle can easily be skirted. For example, if further agreements do not follow, the Americans could surreptitiously get around it by various so-called compensation measures or also by increasing other nuclear weapons within NATO. We, too, could get round it by, let us say, making some additional intercontinental ballistic missiles. There are no limits because the Americans are not adhering to SALT II. In other words, in theory we can easily get around the agreement. As a first step, it is very important, but it cannot exist by itself for a long time.

[Zelenka] In RUDE PRAVO I read that there exist certain desires in NATO for various kinds of compensations. See, here is today's title page saying, "Trident To Replace the Pershings," or in other words, the desire of England to fill with the Tridents this space left after removing the Pershings. In other words, the striving for replacement would be even bigger if other steps involving strategic weapons do not follow.

[Shishlin] You can see how contradictory all this is! We have only just discussed the issue that in the Soviet Union some think we have made a bigger concessions. And the compensation? This means that over there they think they have made a bigger concession. This is what the situation is like. Of course, the compensation is only a smokescreen in order to bypass the treaty and to gain various additional advantages—military supremacy. Those in our country who say that we have lost from the arithmetical viewpoint or that we are destroying more missiles say we are thus losing. This is what they say. But those who speak about the compensation say: One missile system has been removed from Europe and so, we have to add something in order to be able to exert additional pressure. Well, I think here at issue is not the fact of understanding that plans for a further buildup of NATO armaments are creating an unfavorable atmosphere for constructive talks. The main thing, all the same, rests in the fact that political logic dictated by the new thinking has to lie elsewhere. After all, there exists a kind of a plan for reaching an agreement on the so-called conventional weapons. Yes, oh, yes, we say that in the approximate equilibrium of the military-technical means there exists asymmetry in certain category or armaments. Do the Americans say this? Oh no, we say this. We say this, too. It is the principle that we put the emphasis on, how to eliminate this imbalance and this asymmetry, that is according to the lower level, not by adding, but, on the contrary, by reducing. The Americans are showering praise on this treaty that has been concluded, as an example of asymmetrical limitations. They consider that they have, actually and figuratively speaking, put one over on us and that the next treaty in the sphere of disarmament has to be based on this principle. But this is as if they were using violence in order to enter opened doors. We, too, say that in the case when a participating side has taken a front place in a certain system, it has to reduce its armaments to a minumum. By the way, the things had been worked out like this in Prague, too.

[Zelenka] [Words indistinct] A full picture of the response to the treaty: Franz-Josef Strauss visited Moscow recently, and although he mostly spoke in a very positive manner there, he nevertheless did not miss the opportunity to say that the treaty changes nothing for the FRG, that the FRG is not gaining any security. This is not the position of just Franz-Josef Strauss in the FRG. I would just like to recall that in 1983 during the discussion in the Bundestag, all maintained, on the contrary, that the Pershings would increase their security.

[?Gerasimov] [Laughter] Oh yes! Strauss spoke in Moscow at the press conference, but he did not criticize the treaty there. He said that the treaty, the one we are speaking about now, has for once and all been concluded, and I will not criticize it now. But he said: This is the first step. This is the harmony of views. After all, he does not think the treaty itself is good. It can be good as a start of the journey. But I think that we are expressing it in almost the same way, more or less. There are, nevertheless, small nuances here, as far as Strauss is concerned. But this treaty itself does not solve the problem of European security and FRG security. On this point we absolutely agree. On the other hand, the first step itself on this unexplored path and on this unexplored direction provides evidence of many things. I can see that Comrade Zelenka has a statement here, has he not?

[?Zelenka] [Words indistinct] Whether it succeeded, whether it is the first, second, or whatever step: I would like to assess this from yet another viewpoint. By the way, in 1 week, 2 years will have expired since Comrade Gorbachev made a television statement, which was published on 16 January in PRAVDA and also, by the way, in RUDE PRAVO. I took it out from the archives in order to remind myself that at that time, this program, which was presented to the world by Comrade Gorbachev on behalf of the Soviet Union, seemed to many to be very utopian. Two years ago, taking into account the world's composition and the strong influence of all obsolete trends, it indeed seemed to be over-utopian. What can we say today after 2 years? Is it utopia, or have these steps brought this program nearer to a fitting reality?

[Unidentified Russian speaker] Should I say, in short, I think a lot depended last year on political declarations, ideas, and initiatives; however, we have now gone over to specific political actions. The program of eliminating nuclear weapons by certain stages on its own with all its apparent impudence and daredevilry and with a certain degree of utopia is the only realistic, pragmatic program for our interconnected, intertwined, and mutually dependent world. It will start this year after the ratification, which we have mentioned, and then the real limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons will begin.

We have spoken about arms control: I never liked that term. Then treaties about limitation of nuclear weapons were concluded, and this happened for the first time in history. It was the first treaty that will really destroy missiles. If you read the treaty, it describes directly how they will be destroyed. They must be cut in half— not [word indistinct]. On first sight, these are comical technical terms: they must be (?cut) to make them flat. This sounds even too simplistic.

[Unidentified Czech speaker] The questions of chemical weapons are still under discussion. Do you think that 1988 also holds hopes for some treaties in the chemical weapons sphere as well?

[Unidentified Russian speaker] With regard to chemical weapons, it looks both good and bad. It looks good because the text of treaty is almost ready. Actually, the British helped a lot in this. But now the United States has almost turned back. Firstly they started to produce a new generation of chemical weapons, binary weapons as they are called. Secondly, they came with new arguments. They say we must not destroy chemical weapons, that we allegedly must have some guarantee, because they might occur in other countries such as Iran, Libya, or elsewhere. [word indistinct] list such countries.

France also assumes a very negative attitude. I remember that in the United States in a certain television program—not just now, but not very long ago either—one representative of the defense ministry said: Why should we be against chemical weapons? It is the best weapon. It destroys the enemy immediately, leaves material substances untouched, and is a much smaller burden for society because the weapon will kill a man, but he will not be left crippled. Let us see how many cripples there are in the world. They must be cared for. They must receive some sort of pension. These are cripples, and here a man is dead immediately. The grief is immediate. A relative died; that is the end.

This is almost a cannibalistic philosophy because chemical weapons, to my mind, are perhaps the most barbaric. Every weapon is barbaric, but a chemical weaon is particularly barbaric. It has a nuance of barbarism. All in all, the current positions of the U.S. Administration worry us. On the other hand, we have exchanged experts and official visits. We have visited exhibitions of chemical weapons. We have declared what our reserves are. They kept saying: The USSR has massses of chemical weapons, allegedly 10 times as many as the United States. We said we had 50,000 tonnes and that, approximately, is the same as the U.S. supplies. The Americans, however, keep their stock secret. There is another important problem that cannot be concealed. This is the problem of control. The Americans believe that control must refer to that chemical production which belongs to the state. The essential amount of U.S. chemical weapons is, however, produced by private syndicates. The result is a lack of balance with which we shall naturally never agree, if verification is to be total. Yes, they quote the problem of control. But I am not worried about this. It was also said in connection with missiles that there is a problem with verification and actually recently, about 3 days ago, the Americans apologized because they have found some of their missiles. These were second-rate missiles that were somewhere in a warehouse. We have found them, and they could be repaired and used, they said. So you see the problem of verification is complicated, but an agreement could be arrived at. I am more worried about the fact that they say in principle we ought to preserve chemical weapons because chemical weapons might appear in other countries.

[Unidentified Czech speaker] When we speak about binary weapons, they are generally very difficult to control. They are two chemical compounds: Each one on its own is not dangerous, and a chemical weapon is created only by compounding them. It is very difficult to control two components.

[Unidentified Czech speaker] I would like to say one thing here: We are constantly talking here about all the steps such as discussions between diplomats, politicians, officers, generals and so on, but somehow we have so far omitted the role of world public opinion. In my view, the situation today is such that there can hardly be a politician who aspires to a leading position in his state, both in the West and in the East, who could afford to totally ignore public opinion; in other words, the role of public opinion in a given situation is undoubtedly increasing.

[Unidentified Russian speaker] This idea is absolutely right. In my view, what happened last year, in 1987, will be multiplied in 1988 perhaps for the simple reason that the pressure of public opinion produces results. By the way, the pressure of public opinion [is reflected in] Soviet positions, too. If you remember, in Reykjavik everything was in one basket: intermediate-range missiles, strategic weapons, nuclear tests—no, no, nuclear tests were not in it—as well as SDI issues. But after the Moscow forum on the survival of mankind and in light of the fact that everyone was saying: You have to untie the strings of that basket, the Soviet Union and the United States did, indeed, untie those strings. In the U.S. position, of course, I think we can see the influence that world public opinion exerts today, the most varied political views from the widest political spectrum. Now it is a matter of deciding what measures we have to take in order to keep the ball rolling. Yes that is right, because public opinion seems to have quieted down a little. Perhaps that is my subjective view because, you see, something has now been signed, so there has, in my view, been a relative lull. This is something we cannot allow to happen. We must continue to sound the alarm bells because we are now crossing the nuclear Rubicon: the issue of ratification, the second treaty, and chemical weapons, which we have just been talking about. The Americans do not want tests to stop, so how can they talk about nuclear disarmament when they do not want to

stop tests? Talks are in progress, but here we are evidently making concessions. We are thinking about ideas, about controlling nuclear tests, their yield, and so forth. Of course, public opinion must be stronger.

[Unidentified Czech speaker] Let us wait until Easter. At Easter traditionally the largest events are staged by the peace movement. Then we will see how large and well-supported they are. Personally, I think the peace movement must decide what its most important interests are now after the signing of the Washington agreement. We must—I am a little apprehensive of this word, but I will say it—unite even more around this idea of fighting for peace because today the peace movement is different from what it was 3 years ago, when various peace movements existed. Today I personally think the peace movement is uniting on the fundamental idea of mankind's survival.

[?Zelenka] I think it is particularly those issues being brought up by the different members of NATO, the compensation questions, which must cause public opinion to react. I think the British public, which made such a great effort to blockade some bases, will once again be provoked if, for example, the bases for the B-52's are extended or if the European Pershings were suddenly to be replaced by Trident missiles in Britain. Yes, there can be a degree of satisfaction because a certain point has been passed; nevertheless, public opinion cannot accept the idea of compensation, that is, trying to find all kinds of areas in which the old policy of superiority in weapons could be revived.

[Shishlin] Yes, it is all the same. Although there is some truth in Gennadiy Ivanovich's views, the things which can be, for example, seen clearly in Britain, the signing of the U.S.-Soviet Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the movement—notably the women's movement and the activity of British women—have not abated at all, all the more so now that there exist plans for increasing British armaments. I cannot talk about this in any other way but with a smile. If we talk about the activity of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, then there they are simply coming out with one proposal after another, of course, within the framework of an already cleared path. These are not new paths and routes. I think we need a discussion, an earnest discussion. For example, conventional weapons in Europe are being talked about. After all, we are proposing...[Shishlin changes thought] We, the two [Warsaw Treaty Organization] members, are proposing joint discussions of military doctrine with the NATO countries and the United States. They have been trying to distance themselves from this for 18 months. Why? Why are they afraid of this discussion? It is very good that Marshal Akhromeyev visited the Pentagon, the U.S. defense Department. The military figures have to meet, too. It is not just the diplomats who must meet. This is an exaggeration. The military figures have to meet, too. They have to discuss these issues, issues concerning military doctrines. They understood that we are not going to attack them suddenly. But we also want to be sure that they are not going to attack suddenly. A pact on attacking as a second [as heard] will provide a basis for really curbing armaments.

[Zelenka] There are still some other problems that could also disrupt additional steps. These are the so-called regional problems. These were also discussed by Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan in Washington. How will the two major regional problems—which are of interest to people worldwide who are concerned that, from the viewpoints of both sides, they could lead to something—how do you think they will influence the progress on the main problem, that is eliminating strategic weapons? I have in mind, for example, the Persian Gulf, because this is a very dangerous regional conflict, but I also have in mind what they have consistently been talking about, for example, the Afghan problem. Pakistan, Afghanistan, the unceasing influx of contras from Pakistan [as heard]: Despite the announcement of the national reconciliation policy, streams of contras are pouring in again and again from Pakistan.

[Shishlin] First and foremost, I would like to express my agreement with the thought that progress in the key direction—that is limiting arms—can be curbed. After all, can everything be reversed if there is no progress? [word indistinct] on the problems that shape contemporary international relations, including regional conflicts. Each of them is distinctive. Each of them has its own problems, its sources, its reasons for originating, and each problem has its sharp edges that turn it and push it along. One thing is clear: All these problems, this enormous burden, make international relations more complex. The current means for solving them are not favorable; they are insufficient, and apart from political solutions, there are no other paths. These regional conflicts, which usually have local roots—the best example is the Iran-Iraq war—must not be drawn into the superpower rivalry. Indeed, they should not become an arean of pure confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. The only thing we can say about the talks on regional problems in Washington is that in fact all problems were discussed there but not in details. Nevertheless, they indicate that a new atmosphere is ruling and arising during negotiations. I would say perhaps this atmosphere is a more refined one. I cannot say that it is a more fruitful atmosphere. The interests have [word indistinct] so much. You know, this is an attempt to understand each other's positions. It is an attempt to find a mutual understanding. However, in the past, there were mutual accusations, that is, accusations and counteraccusations, more accusations and counteraccusations, and nothing else.

So, in connection with this, how will regional conflicts fare in 1988? Well, I think that on this issue, we are not experiencing any kind of exceptional optimism. You have to take into consideration what they can lead to. Although [word indistinct] is not very rich, there is still

a national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan, in Nicaragua, and in Cambodia, and this really means something. If we talk about the Near East, then the thought of organizing an international conference on the near East has, all the same, met more and more support. The visit by the Jordanian king to the Soviet Union was also evidence of this. As far as the issue of the Gulf, the Persian Gulf, is concerned, despite the complexity of the situation in the Gulf and the complexity of the Iran-Iraq conflict, which has been going on endlessly and has claimed an enormous number of human lives, I still think that 1988 will be a turning point. Why? Because the situation there is intolerable. The working out of the next resolution, apart from 598, which concerns real sanctions against the sides waging war, is after all an important thing.

[Unidentified Czech speaker] Comrade Shishlin helped me a bit to conclude this. We must make the best use of our time. We are a bit limited tonight as the sports fans are impatient to watch the program after this. In conclusion, I would like to ask you to make three wishes for 1988. What do you think, what would you wish the most, or what is your hope for USSR-U.S. relations, Soviet internal affairs, and USSR Czechoslovak relations? Can you answer briefly to conclude this program?

[Shishlin] As far as Soviet-U.S. relations go, it would be good if our car—excuse me for calling it a car—moved from first gear to second gear. First, I think it was immobile. Last year we put it into first gear. Now with the second treaty we are in second gear, so we eventually could go out onto the freeway. As far as domestic issues go, I hope we will have a very important party conference where we will definitely enter the positions of our restructuring from the viewpoint of what is vitally important for us. Regarding Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, I hope that they will develop and flourish.

[Gerasimov] Regardinging Soviet-U.S. relations, I think it would be best if 1988 gave us the treaty on strategic offensive weapons, that is, about their numerical limitation. Regarding internal affairs, I have one wish. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about it, literally the day before yesterday: We need more democracy, more restructuring, and more information for the public: glasnost. Regarding Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, I think we have a very rich arsenal from the viewpoint of cooperation. However, we need a new quality, a new quality in cooperation, and I think the forthcoming visit of Comrade Jakes will be one of those steps that will ensure a new quality in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations.

[Zelenka] I thank Comrade Gerasimov, Comrade Shishlin, and Comrade Moravek.

United States & Canada

Shultz Press Conference on Foreign Policy

LD081604 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 8 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

On Thursday U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz gave a press conference at which he dwelt in detail on the principal goals and directions of the present administration's foreign policy activities in the final year of its stay in office.

"We look for a very active and with every prospect of a productive year ahead of us," he emphasized. The Soviet Union, he said, "will be the main source of attention for us as we work toward the summit in Moscow".

"We will be working on our full agenda which is fully accepted." [as received]

In answer to the question as to how the United States envisions a solution coming to the knot of SDI which is an obstacle to reaching an agreement on strategic offensive arms. Shultz said that there seemed to be many irreconcilable differences as we went through the INF process, and gradually we managed to work them out.

"Don't know exactly how we will resolve this but we will work (?at it)", the U.S. secretary of state said.

Commenting on Shultz' announcements, the CBS TV Network has pointed out that some administration spokesmen hope that the conclusion of an agreement on strategic offensive arms would become possible by the time President Reagan goes to Moscow. They are not so sure about that, but no one wants to play down the wave of optimism now.

Judging by answers given by the U.S. secretary of state to questions concerning regional conflicts, Washington will follow its previous policies in all "hotspots" of the world in the new year.

For example, Shultz categorically declined to condemn terror by the Israeli military against the civilian population of the Israel-occupied Arab territories. He emphasized that relations between the United States and Israel remained "unshakeable". "Problems come up from time to time. We solve those problems, the U.S. secretary of state (?noted) that the Washington administration was resolved to continue to render military aid to the Nicaraguan contras and intended to apply to the Congress next month in a request for new appropriations for aid to the contras that (?try) to overthrow the Sandinist government.

Shultz also made it clear that the United States did not intend to end interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. It (?was) clear from his pronouncements that U.S. military aid to the counter-revolutionaries, the aid which amounts to almost [word indistinct] million dollars last year, might be ended only after full withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and if the United States would be "satisfied" with the conditions of an achieved settlement. However, even in that case U.S. aid to anti-government forces would still be rendered in other (?areas).

U.S. Nuclear Test Experts Meet Vladimir Petrovskiy

LD091506 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—A group of U.S. experts led by Robert Barker, an assistant to the secretary of defense, arrived in the Soviet Union Friday to visit a nuclear testing range at Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan.

The understanding on reciprocal trips by Soviet and American specialists to the nuclear test sites of each other was reached during summit talks in Washington in December 1987.

Barker was received at the Soviet Foreign Ministry today by Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy who stressed the need for an early resolution of the problem of stopping nuclear testing, a problem which has become very urgent in the light of transition to the process of eliminating nuclear weapons.

Petrovskiy emphasized that intermediate steps in this direction should include an early ratification of the 1974 and 1976 treaties limiting nuclear explosions and the attainment of accords to reduce the yields of nuclear tests and drastically cut their number.

He also called the U.S. visitors' attention to a Soviet proposal for a mutual moratorium on nuclear testing for the duration of full-scale Soviet-American talks on this issue.

The U.S. experts fly to Semipalatinsk tomorrow.

The return visit by Soviet experts to the nuclear testing range in Nevada will take place in the second half of this month.

'Closest Attention' to Carlucci Gulf Tour

PM081539 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Muddying the Waters"]

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci is making an 8-day tour of the Persian Gulf. He will visit Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Oman, hold talks with the

leaders of these countries, meet the command of U.S. Armed Forces deployed in the area, and inspect U.S. warships operating in the Persian Gulf.

Quite understandably, this tour by the chief of the Pentagon was bound to attract the closest attention. The Persian Gulf is one of the "flashpoints" of the planet at the moment. The Iran-Iraq war, which has been raging for many years, has built up tension to the limit. The United States has, furthermore, added fuel to the flames by concentrating more than 30 warships in the Gulf and on its approaches.

When dispatching its naval forces to the Gulf, the Washington administration claimed that they were needed to ensure uninterrupted supplies of oil from that region. "However, the truth is," Rear Admiral G. Larocque (retired) has said, "that the oil flowed freely until the United States raised its flag on Kuwaiti tankers and increased its military presence. Since then, military actions in the Gulf have intensified and the flow of oil has diminished." According to the CNN television network, since the United States began escorting Kuwaiti tankers, the number of attacks on merchant ships has doubled in the Gulf. Last year alone, 178 ships were attacked.

Nonetheless, Washington is stubbornly sticking to its course, literally cramming the waters of the Pershian Gulf with its warships and encircling the region with military bases and facilities. Furthermore, the U.S. naval forces operating in the area are expanding their functions, which is heightening the possibility of an incident even further. Thus, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, at the very end of last year the U.S. Defense Department, reviewing its rules of engagement in the Persian Gulf, authorized U.S. warships deployed in the area to respond positively to requests to escort NATO countries' ships. Yet, in the very first days of January, a U.S. missile cruiser was observed escorting two tankers under a Liberian and a Japanese flag. Observers, commenting on F. Carlucci's tour, claim that it will result in a further expansion of the functions and operations of the U.S. armada concentrated in the region.

However, these are anything but the steps that are needed to defuse the conflict in the Persian Gulf zone. Unquestionably, if the foreign military presence was removed from the region, this would contribute to a stabilization of the situation. The Soviet proposal to send a UN naval force to replace the foreign warships in the Gulf and safeguard navigation there is winning more and more supporters. The implementation of this proposal would make it possible to tackle the next question—ending hostilities on the Iran-Iraq front. Especially as UN Security Council Resolution 598 to this effect already exists.

Meanwhile, the situation in the Persian Gulf continues to deteriorate, threatening to turn into a serious international crisis. The situation in the Gulf must be resolved, and the sooner the better. However, Washington's practical steps do not reflect an intention to proceed in this direction. On the contrary, with a persistence worthy of a better cause, it continues to muddy the waters in the Gulf, gambling exclusively on military force. Judging by appearances, the current voyage of the Pentagon chief only serves to reaffirm this dangerous course of the U.S. Administration.

U.S.'Stubborn Desire' for Space Militarization

LD081143 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 8 Jan 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Aleksandr Korshunov]

[Text] [Korshunov] The head of the U.S. Administration has once again given a most complimentary assessment of the treaty signed by the leaders of the USSR and the United States at the beginning of December in the U.S. capital. In the greeting, which the White House occupant addressed to a group of Soviet schoolchildren visiting the United States, President Reagan pointed out, in particular: General Secretary Gorbachev and I jointly signed the historic treaty on removing all medium-range nuclear missiles from our two countries' arsenals. The President went on to note that during the summit meeting, progress was reached on other problems, too.

Undoubtedly, one can only agree with such an assessment of the treaty. This makes it all the more difficult to explain—from the point of view of simple common sense—the latest reports that the United States is carrying out large-scale tests of the powerful Alpha chemical laser. Several experts are unmasking the U.S. Administration's assertions that the SDI program is not a nuclear one. The magazine ATLANTIC has carried an article by a certain (Jonathan Tassini), who cites facts showing that in the Pentagon laboratories, work is in full swing to develop [sozdaniye] a compact superpowerful nuclear reactor to be put into near-earth orbit to provide power for the SDI systems. One must ask, what is the point of removing a whole class of nuclear weapons with one hand while using the other to create [sozdavat] an even more dangerous strike weapon for development [razvertyvaniye] in space. Indeed, the nuclear reactor reported by (Tassini) in his article will increase the threat of nuclear catastrophe. It is not hard to imagine what would happen if the nuclear reactor—the capacity of which is equivalent to several atomic bombs of the size dropped on Hiroshima—through some mistake or malfunction leaves orbit and speeds toward earth. As has been stressed by the Washington defense information center, the stationing in near-earth orbit of the "Star Wars" system will increase the threat of war many times. This is recognized by more than 5,000 U.S. scientists, who have declared their categorical refusal to particpate in SDI work. Nonetheless, through efforts of at least an equal number of other specialists, this work continues apace.

The White House repeatedly declares it is working to develop SDI, which it declares to be a priority, and then to deploy the system.

Now, at a crucial stage in the history of civilization, the question has become: Can capitalism outlive excessive strivings for unbridled militarization and for thinking in terms of military force? So far, the facts answer negatively. At the same time, the U.S. Administration's stubborn desire to go down the path of militarizing space could ultimately make it impossible to reduce strategic offensive weapons. The U.S. Administration in words declares its resolve to promote the achievement of this aim, but on the other hand proceeds in such a way as to eliminate the very possibility of such accords.

Gromyko Meets Young U.S. Political Leaders

PM071323 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 6 January in the Kremlin A.A. Gromyko received a large group of representatives of the American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL), who are in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations.

The delegation includes representatives of the two largest U.S. political parties—the Republican and Democratic Parties—including congressmen, staffers of various agencies and administration departments, and the congressional apparatus, college presidents, lawyers, publishers, journalists, and representatives of the local authorities of various states. The delegation is headed by its joint leaders—Tennessee Congressman Republican Donald Sunquist and Democrat Hodding Carter III, chairman of the ACYPL Board of Trustees. Jack Faust Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, was with the delegation.

Present at the meeting on the Soviet side were P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.I. Mironenko, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; S.N. Chelnokov, chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, and other officials.

A.A. Gromyko described in detail the Soviet Union's struggle for disarmament and the path which, as a result of talks between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan, led to the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The conclusion of these treaties, he said, is making history. Can we cite even one instance from the past when a treaty has been signed on the voluntary elimination of weapons by both sides? It is impossible to cite such an instance. That is why the present document is unique in the annals of mankind.

Everyone has the right to ask: And so the treaty has been signed, what next? A sensible and balanced reply to this question should be a precise one. What should be done next is what the peoples, what all people of the world, need, and they want to exist, to live. That is clear to all. It has been proven that even if only some nuclear weapons "got talking" it would mean the death of life and of civilization. That is why today it is absolutely essential to adopt the position which outstanding scientific minds were defending back at the dawn of the atomic era. I was working in the United States when I met with Einstein, Joliot-Curie, Oppenheimer, and Lawrence. All these very important specialists in the field of nuclear physics expressed themselves differently but firmly adhered to the same position: It is necessary to seek and to find ways to the complete destruction of nuclear weapons before they destroy people.

You are young people, young political leaders. And that means that you must think not least about how to avert from mankind the nuclear sword hanging over it.

The position which the U.S. Administration adopted on signing the treaty is evidence that it is also aware of the degree of nuclear threat. That is why we say with complete justification that an important historical frontier has been reached in the nuclear disarmament process.

The act of its ratification by both sides is now necessary for the treaty. As for the Soviet Union, we will do everything to ensure this treaty is ratified. At the same time we believe that the United States will do the same.

Of course, the treaty which has been signed is a very important step forward in politics and in international life. But much still has to be done in the future. We also want to believe that the accords reached in Washington will be fulfilled by both our states and the forthcoming treaties on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments will also be successful. The main idea, the main point, of Soviet foreign policy is the continuation of the nuclear disarmament process. The Soviet Union will do everything to continue to advance to the ideal—universal and full disarmament.

As you can see, this is a great task. It should be impeded neither by the difference between our systems nor by the question of which party is represented by the man holding the post of president in your country.

Here I want to note that no one has the right to interfere in other countries' internal affairs. Internal affairs are the concern of the peoples of the relevant states and of them alone.

A.A. Gromyko then dwelled on the historic transformations in the Soviet Union. He discussed how the economic, the social sphere, and people's actual thinking are being restructured.

Incidentally, restructuring in the sphere of thinking also affects you Americans. We hope that you will not deny it, he remarked. After all, we are living in the nuclear age.

I should like you to leave our country with the conviction that our party and the entire Soviet people have embarked in earnest on the business of restructuring and that we will unfailingly implement this business in a country with a population of nearly 300 million.

It is futile to seek any cracks or chinks in us, as some of your observers are trying to do. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, our Central Committee, and our party, which numbers nearly 20 million members, are a political monolith.

A.A. Gromyko particularly stressed the importance of communication between the young people of the two countries and of regular contacts between the supreme legislative organs—the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress.

Hodding Carter III. The presence of arms is a reflection of the differences existing in the world. In your opinion, which difficulties should be eliminated before we embark on disarmament?

A.A. Gromyko. That is a long-standing argument: What is more important—disarmament or trust? Disarmament is a series of treaties and agreements on the reduction and elimination of arms. In implementing them we will gradually develop trust in each other. Therefore, in our view, both should be done together.

Arthur Culvahouse, Jr (Republican, adviser to the U.S. President). At a meeting with us in Moscow, Ambassador J.F. Matlock gave his assessment of the prospects of arms reduction. What is your assessment of these prospects?

A.A. Gromyko. What percentage did he cite in favor of success?

J.F. Matlock. I said more than 50%.

A.A. Gromyko. It is good that it is more. As for us, we would like the United States and the Soviet Union to also approach the forthcoming talks with a sense of great responsibility. If such a sense is displayed, the results will be positive. In the presence of Ambassador Matlock, I should like to say that the Soviet Union will do everything possible to promote the attainment of an agreement at the forthcoming talks, too.

Steny Hoyer (Democrat, congressman from Maryland). U.S. House of Representatives Speaker Wright has asked me to convey to you the great satisfaction that he feels in connection with the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between our countries. Speaker Wright shares the Soviet Union's view that it is essential to achieve this treaty's ratification. Speaker Wright has also asked me to convey to you that if we succeed in using the enormous resources that our two countries now spend on arms for more useful needs, this would produce beneficial results for the peoples of our two countries and the peoples of the whole world.

Bruce Weinrod (Republican, director of the Heritage Foundation scientific research center's foreign policy department). What sources of information do you use to form an idea of the political situation in the United States?

A.A. Gromyko. We receive information from the Soviet Embassy and in addition from newspapers, journals, radio, and television. You are well-acquainted with our agency TASS, which successfully supplies us with current information. And if we generalize everything, the result is that the amalgam of all means of information plus common sense, a serious attitude toward information, and the desire and ability to separate the essential from the nonessential, all this creates a picture of the overall situation in the United States.

A.A. Gromyko answered a number of other questions put by members of the delegation.

In conclusion, the joint leaders of the delegation stated that this meeting has made it possible better to understand the Soviet Union's policy and has drawn a broad picture of restructuring in the USSR for the American guests. They expressed their thanks for the talk.

U.S. Press, Public Opinion on INF Treaty

LD092334 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1808 GMT 9 Jan 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Igor Surguchev]

[Text] [Surguchev] Hello, Comrades! A month has passed since the historic Soviet-U.S. Treaty Eliminating Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed. No one has any doubt that our country's Supreme Soviet will ratify this extremely important document. And there are grounds for believing that the Senate of the U.S. Congress will also act in the same way. Nevertheless, judging by reports from across the ocean, the Reagan administration is going to have to come up against definite difficulties when the treaty is ratified. Evidence of this is

to be found in the discussion surrounding approval of it which has unfolded in the United States. Here is Vladimir Gerasichev, our correspondent in New York:

[Gerasichev] As has been shown by public opinion polls that have been carried out here, an overwhelming majority of Americans are in favor of the ratification of this important Soviet-U.S. agreement as soon as possible, and that is understandable, for it provides for the elimination of a whole class of nuclear missile weapons. Nevertheless, discussions around the issue of the forthcoming ratification of this treaty are becoming increasingly sharp. The arguments put forward by those in favor of it are well-known. But what is it that guides its opponents? Some shifts in their stance are noticeable under the influence of public feeling and the realities that exist. Whereas in the past they simply rejected the treaty, now they insist that there is no hurry to ratify it. Eugene Rostow, currently a leader of the Committee on the Present Danger, makes precisely this call in the press. If you remember, this was the very committee which opposed in the fiercest way the signing of the treaty under any circumstances.

[Surguchev] What, specifically, does Mr Rostow say? What is it that he doesn't like about the treaty?

[Gerasichev] According to him, this agreement encourages the growth of isolationism in the United States: after the signing—and especially after the ratification of this treaty—Europe will virtually be left totally defenseless in the face of the Soviet military threat. Furthermore, if there is no progress in solving the problem of reducing strategic offensive weapons, and according to Rostow this is what has to happen through the fault of the Soviet Union, then the Treaty Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will right away become a trap for the United States. For example, it is perfectly clear from his article in THE NEW YORK TIMES that he is afraid of the influence that the treaty is capable of having upon the policies of the U.S. NATO allies, as though this might seriously lead to the rejection of nuclear weapons by Europe. More than anything else, however, he is obviously frightened by the prospect of the subsequent Soviet-U.S. talks. God forbid that progress at these talks might lead to a slowdown in the rate of work on the "Star Wars" program.

[Surguchev] About "Star Wars", incidentally, the United States is speeding up preparations for these. Ground tests of a chemical Alpha laser which might become one of the main elements in the notorious strategic defense initiative were carried out recently in California. What can be said in this connection?

[Gerasichev] A 50-tonne space craft, the Zenith Star, which will launch the Alpha into space orbit, is already being developed in violation, of course, of the existing ABM Treaty and despite all the statements made by the White House about its desire to achieve a 50% reduction in strategic offensive armaments. How, indeed, can one talk seriously about reductions and at the same time develop a space monster capable of burning up not just flying vehicles in space but everything living on earth? But the plans for developing the Zenith Star are totally real ones and in the White House they are counting on carrying out the first test of it, with a chemical laser in space, at the start of the nineties. I think it is clear enough from what I have said just who is really violating the Soviet-U.S. treaties and who is holding up progress at the talks on reducing strategic offensive armaments.

Plunge in Dollar Exchange Rate Considered

PM081427 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Arkadiy Maslennikov "Observer's Opinion"]

[Text] The barometer of capitalism—the situation in the currency and securities markets—is again pointing to "storm." In the last few days the U.S. dollar's exchange rate has fallen to a new record low. In Tokyo, for instance, it was trading on Monday at just Y121.6—half the rate of 3-4 years ago. There have been sharp movements, mostly downward, in stock prices on the New York, London, Paris, and other securities markets. In short, the situation in the private enterprise world's holy of holies—its foreign exchange and financial system—is clearly unfavorable.

"But what's that got to do with us?" some readers might ask. "There has been turmoil in Western currency markets for several years now. U.S., British, Japanese, and other capitalists don't care, they're getting richer." Those are the kinds of letters that have been arriving in the PRAVDA editorial mailbag.

Nonetheless, we do have an interest in what goes on and the direction in which events develop in the sphere of international financial exchange.

First, the Soviet Union is a major and rapidly developing trading power. A considerable proportion of the country's national income now comes through foreign trade in one form or another. And we, of course, are bound to be affected by the prices at which we have to buy and sell on foreign markets. For instance, in accordance with prevailing international practice, oil and certain other traditional Soviet exports are priced in dollars. Therefore, the exchange rate—that is, the market value of the U.S. currency—can and does have the most direct impact on our actual income from foreign trade. Take another example. Japan and West Germany are among the USSR's leading trade partners in the world capitalist market and we purchase from them large quantities of machines, equipment, and other goods which our economy needs. It is therefore natural that the recent rise in the yen and deutsche mark exchange rates is bound to lead to higher prices for our imports from those countries.

Second, currency exchange is a necessary link for the entire mechanism of international economic relations, and therefore its regulation and predictability are an important condition ensuring mutual confidence between partners and their readiness to invest and enter into long-term financial commitments. For many countries, particularly from the so-called developing world, the sudden distortions in exchange rates may mean an automatic increase in their foreign debt, the servicing of which sometimes swallows up the bulk of their foreign trade earnings even under normal conditions.

Finally, the crisis phenomena in the economy, including capitalism's financial sphere, have always been a source of reactionary militarist tendencies in the imperialist powers' policies. It is common knowledge that the advent in power of fascism in Germany and the sharp rise in aggressiveness that accompanied it, leading to the outbreak of World War II, were to a considerable extent predetermined by the economic and social disorder that gripped the country in the twenties and early thirties. Nor can we fail to see that the current financial problems in the capitalist world are being used by Western ruling circles to step up their exploitation of the developing countries and to pursue an aggressive neoglobalist policy right across the board.

What has caused this disorder? In principle its main source can be traced to the sharp changes in the distribution of economic power and influence that have taken place under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and the structural improvements in the economic mechanism of the leading capitalist powers. An indication of this is the fact that what was until recently the indisputable leader of the West—the United States—has in the last few years become the largest international debtor and is increasingly losing its predominant positions in world trade, in labor productivity growth, and even in the population's living standards. In terms of many of these indicators, it is being increasingly confidently caught and even overtaken by states such as Japan, the FRG, and certain others.

Thus the current financial turbulence in the capitalist world is based on the uneven, convulsive development of its economies. Under these conditions recurring financial and other storms are inevitable.

Voss, Senator Bradley Discuss INF Treaty

LD071337 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—U.S. Senator William Bradley, who has arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the parliamentary group of the USSR, today met with Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR and a deputy chairman of the parliamentary group of the USSR.

The Soviet MP described the Soviet-U.S. summit and the signature of a Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles as one of the more important events of the past year.

After briefing the senator on ratification procedures, Voss expressed the conviction that the Soviet parliament would ratify the treaty.

Bradley said that if nothing unexpected happened, one could say that the chances of the treaty being ratified by the U.S. Senate were at the moment good.

China

Gorbachev Hints at Soviet-Chinese Summit

PM101725 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

["M.S. Gorbachev's Replies to Questions From the Editorial Board of LIAOWANG Magazine"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] In December 1987 the Chinese weekly LIAOWANG put some questions to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The answers to these questions were conveyed to the editorial board on the eve of the new year and are being published in the magazine's second issue.

1. Question. Looking back over the development of the international situation in 1987, do you observe any heartening changes?

What worrying issues still exist, in your opinion?

What hopes do you have for the coming year?

Answer. Nuclear physicists once depicted the state in which today's world found itself by means of a clock face on which the proximity of the hands to the figure 12 indicate how dangerously close mankind has come to the fatal hour. A fairly somber image, but one conveying a sensation of growing alarm.

So that—if one evaluates the outgoing year through the prism of this image—then it is possible, I believe, to say: The hands have retreated somewhat from the danger mark, although it would be too premature to speak of the start of a fundamentally new recording of time.

I have primarily in mind the results of the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington. The historic significance of this meeting which absorbed the attention of the entire world is beyond doubt. For the first time an agreement has been reached on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles, a start has thereby been made to the process of real disarmament, and the prospect of deep cuts in the main, strategic nuclear arsenals has been opened up.

All this has become possible as a result of a gradual alteration in the psychological climate in the world, and of changes in the state of people's minds. Different factors have played their part here. Among them we are clearly right to single out world socialism's contribution to arousing a global [obshchechelovecheskiy] impetus toward the improvement, toward the normalization of international relations, a contribution directly linked with the profound changes, the restructuring, the renewal—with everything that distinguishes today the development of socialist society.

It is socialism that is proposing an alternative to the outmoded dangerous concept of nuclear deterrence—the prospect of building a world without weapons of mass destruction. It is no coincidence that the two great socialist powers—the USSR and the PRC—have unilaterally pledged not to be the first to employ nuclear weapons.

On the whole the change in the general political atmosphere represents the most important result of the year.

Of course, when making a realistic assessment of the situation it must be said that only the first bricks in the building of a really safe world are being laid. Many obstacles on this path still have to be surmounted. Chief among these are the stereotypes of the old thinking according to which a country's strength lies in its armaments; the notions of a world divided into spheres of influence; and disregard for the widening gulf between the "rich" West and the "poor" South. Also connected with this are the regional conflicts, the just settlement of which—wherever they may be—is advocated by the Soviet Union.

Yes, substantial obstacles and serious problems. But the powerful positive impetus which international relations have received in the year just ended reveals the opportunity for a chain-reaction shift across the entire front of the limitation and elimination of armaments, be it nuclear or space arms, chemical or "conventional" arms. All our designs are directed toward the achievement of these goals. Naturally, we are counting here on cooperation with the PRC, on whose policies much in world affairs depends.

2. Question. What prospects, in your opinion, are discernible in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, and what trends are there in the development of East-West relations?

Answer. In our evaluation, prospects have improved as a result of the third Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and its results. The Americans have a better understanding of what in fact our policy is, what we really want, what is the meaning and goal of our restructuring. They have been able to sense directly both the realities of Soviet society and our respect for the American people. All this represents promising groundwork for the future.

We do not oversimplify the situation. The USSR and the United States belong to different social systems. Their relations are part of a broader and more multifaceted range of the interrelationships of these systems, or—as is sometimes said—East and West. Each of the two countries possesses its own unique historical experience and "propounds" its own ideology and way of life. Each has its own allies, its established ties with a very broad circle of states, and primarily those states close to it in terms of social system.

But in our age it is important—and herein is one of the pivotal tenets of the new thinking—not to transform the differences and contradictions into a pretext and justification for confrontation. All the more so now, when the processes of renewal, democratization, and openness in the world of socialism are creating trends which favor contacts between the countries of East and West and are making possible a fundamentally new stage in their mutual relations.

The USSR and the United States are sometimes called "superpowers," investing this with a meaning with which it is impossible to agree. Indeed, we are aware of our international responsibility, but we are far from thinking that everything in the world, including relations between East and West, depends only on Moscow and Washington. The new political thinking by which we are guided rejects the easy old formula: If you maintain good relations with one person then this must necessarily be to the detriment of someone else. The present era dictates another ethic, other laws. It cogently demonstrates that today it is impossible to build a long-term policy at somebody else's expense; it is essential to search for a balance of interests. Not against someone but together with everybody—difficult, but the only correct path to universal security and equitable cooperation.

3. Question. What are the main shifts that have been achieved in your restructuring? What problems have you encountered? How do you intend to resolve them?

Answer. The period which our country is living through today can be designated a watershed [rubezhnyy]. We have thrown open the windows to the refreshing wind of change. A new ideological-moral atmosphere has established itself in society. People's activeness and energy are growing. A richer intellectual potential of the party is revealing itself.

The theoretical and political program of restructuring has been elaborated. Its key areas are democratization and radical economic reform. We utilized the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution to make a comprehensive evaluation of our past, to draw lessons from it, to comprehend restructuring as a natural stage of development connected with the transition to modern forms of organizing the socialist society.

Of course, there have been and there will be difficulties. Many of them have been the product of the contradictions of the initial, transitional period of restructuring. Inertia and the habit of thinking and working in the old way came into play, and in some instances the unwillingness to move in step with the times, the fear of losing privileges. There also emerged leftist [levatskiy], avant-garde sentiments, and the desire to achieve everything in one fell swoop, and when this failed to happen—panic and disillusionment. The party has made a blunt assessment of these phenomena. Conservatism and the leap-frogging of stages are two sides of one coin; objectively they incline toward the past and lead to the resurrection of administrative-command methods.

Restructuring has now entered a new stage. Enterprises are to be transferred to self-capitalization, self-financing, and self-management, and the interrelatioins of all elements of the economic system are to be restructured accordingly.

These transformations affect the interests of an enormous body of people, and practically all working people. They are directly linked with smashing the established distorted notions of socialism as a unique sort of society of universal leveling. Therefore there is only one path along which we can fulfill what we have outlined—the direct involvement of the broad masses in management, in taking decisions, and in monitoring them.

A very great deal will depend on the party. It will have to seriously restructure itself, put an end to the substitution of the state and economic organs, and change the forms of its work. These issues will be resolved at the all-union party conference next summer.

The restructuring which we have begun grew out of the conditions of Soviet society and are aimed at its renewal. But the entire world community has an objective interest in this. Just as we have an interest in seeing that economic development and social progress become the property of each nation.

I will take this opportunity to say that the reforms of the economic mechanism and the political system under way in the PRC are of great interest for us. The similarity of the problems which our countries are resolving opens up a broad field for the mutually useful exchange of experience.

China is our neighbor, and we experience satisfaction at the accelerating mutually advantageous cooperation in the spheres of the economy, culture, science, education, and sport. Soviet-Chinese border talks have gotten off to a successful start. A political dialogue is being established. A Soviet-Chinese meeting at the highest level [vstrecha na vysshem urovne] would, in our opinion, be its logical development. Judging from everything, both sides feel the objective need for this. By moving to meet one another it is possible to find mutually acceptable solutions—of this we are certain.

In conclusion I want to wish the friendly Chinese people and their leadership success in the fulfillment of the large-scale tasks advanced by the 13th CPC Congress, and happiness and prosperity in the new year.

28 December 1987.

Soviet Planning Official Meets PRC's Tian Jiyun

LD101930 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Beijing January 10 TASS—Commercial and economic cooperation between the USSR and the PRC has developed further in the recent years, said member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Deputy Premier of the State Council of the PRC Tian Jiyun during a meeting with First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee S. Sitaryan.

Our countries have vast potentials for the further deepening and widening of bilateral cooperation, he said. China wishes that Soviet-Chinese ties should develop further as a result of joint efforts.

Despite different conditions in the USSR and the PRC, our two countries are resolving similar problems and we can draw on each other's positive experience in the making of reforms, Tian Jiyun noted.

The Soviet delegation took part in the first meeting of the permanent working group of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Commercial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

The sides exchanged the experience of the reform of the planning system, discussed the regulations of the permanent working group for reciprocal ties and cooperation between the USSR State Planning Committee and the State Planning Committee of the PRC.

PRC Spokesman Claims Nuclear Reply Capability

LD091842 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Beijing January 9 TASS—A spokesman for the command of the Chinese Strategic Missile Forces said at a meeting with Chinese journalists that multiple successful missile launches in the People's Republic of China bore witness that the country's armed forces possessed even now a definite capability of launching a reply nuclear strike. This statement is published today by the newspaper "RENMIN RIBAO".

According to the command spokesman, the Chinese Strategic Missile Forces were created in 1966 and have become by now an important component of the Chinese Armed Forces. It was noted that in conditions of the decisive turn in the theory of military construction in recent years, a step forward was taken in the control

structure of the strategic missile forces, their manning and provision with equipment have been improved and mobility and combat readiness enhanced.

The "RENMIN RIBAO" added to this information a report about the formation of the first helicopter squadron with the land forces which, as the newspaper put it, is an important measure in modernizing China's defences. The helicopter unit was turned over to the land forces from the airforce. The "RENMIN RIBAO" points out that apart from being involved in joint manoeuvres with units of the land forces, the squadron will also perform tasks in overhauling cargoes and other tactical assignments.

U.S. Continues To Uphold Two-China Policy

OW090741 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Shakhov commentary]

[Text] White House spokesman Fitzwater recently issued an official statement reaffirming the U.S. stand that Taiwan is part of the People's Republic of China. Why did he have to issue such a statement?

It was because Taiwan was called the Republic of China in a spending bill signed by the U.S. President not long ago. This was despite many U.S. Presidents, Reagan included, guaranteeing never to call Taiwan the Republic of China again, but a part of the People's Republic of China. They have also on many occasions promised to stop political, economic, and military ties with the Taiwan regime. However, facts show that all these promises are just empty talk. Washington and Taiwan have been carrying out political cooperation at all levels. Their continuously expanding bilateral trade is 3 times [liang bei] higher than that between the United States and China. U.S. military assistance to Taiwan is now $1 billion per year, and such assistance is proceeding when the United States recognizes China's sovereignty over Taiwan.

What is said is different from what is being done. In official documents, like the texts of laws passed by the U.S. Congress, Taiwan, as before, is still called the Republic of China. U.S. officials, including President Reagan, on many occasions have said that Taiwan is the most loyal and trustworthy friend of the United States. As a matter of fact, Washington has never given up its two-China policy. U.S. allies in Western Europe and Asia have also followed the U.S. example. Shortly before the new year, the first submarine built by the Netherlands for Taiwan was delivered, and nobody has ever refuted reports that NATO nations are giving military assistance to Taiwan.

The People's Republic of China has time and again issued statements to protest the United States pushing a two-China policy or calling Taiwan the Republic of China. But facts have proved that Washington is continuing to push such an unusual policy and continuing to crudely interfere in China's internal affairs. People can now see the recurrence of this policy in the spending bill signed by the U.S. President.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Bases in Philippines Create 'Apprehension'

LD101305 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0348 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] According to reports coming from Southeast Asian capitals, the United States intends not only to maintain its military presence in that region but also to expand it. These reports are being received with great apprehension there. Our correspondent in Indonesia, Vladimir Beloshapko, reports:

The U.S. bases on the Philippines have not promoted the strengthening of security in Southeast Asia the way security is seen by the states situated there. This was stated by unnamed high placed official from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in an interview with the INDONESIAN OBSERVER. States should take care of internal stability themselves instead of giving their territories to foreign military bases for that purpose, the official stressed. In his view, the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the region, proposed by Indonesia, has strengthened Indonesia's international standing.

One may think that it is not a mere coincidence that it is precisely now that the interview has been published. The thing is that lately the United States has been trying actively to persuade Indonesia and other ASEAN member countries to support the U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia. For this purpose, U.S. official representatives time and again are scaring the ASEAN six with some outside threats. A report appeared in the Philippine press, clearly prompted by Washington, alleging that at the Manila summit last December the ASEAN member countries signed a secret document in which they admit the need to preserve the Pentagon bases in the Philippines. This report, however, was quickly refuted. Then the so-called invitation from the headquarters of U.S. bases to the Indonesian military followed, suggesting that they should take part in the training and exercises conducted there.

In one word, Washington's desire not only to keep the Pentagon's strong points in the Philippines but also to drag the region's countries into implementing its militarist designs in that Asian region is evident. Judging by the mentioned interview by the Indonesian official, these attempts do not yield the coveted results. Besides, an even clearer and more definite reply to them was given in the Manila declaration adopted at the meeting of heads of governments and states of the ASEAN member countries. This document contains an appeal to establish a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality—a nuclear-free zone—in southeast Asia.

TASS Notes Philippines Stance

LD081726 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines Raul Manglapus announced Thursday a decision to set up a commission consisting of representatives of executive and legislative power to conduct negotiations with the USA on a bilateral agreement on military bases which expires in 1991.

In the new year interview to the Japanese newspaper "NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN", President of the Philippines Corazon Aquino, said specifically, that "bases actually ensure the region's security". She also made a call for working out with other ASEAN countries an agreement under which each of ASEAN countries would be contributing to the region's security.

In this connection it is noted in the diplomatic circles in Moscow that the Soviet Union in no way intends to interfere in the Philippines' internal affairs. Whatever decisions the Philippine Government takes, it is its sovereign affair. But since these pronouncements have a bearing on important problems of consolidating peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, it should be noted that the USSR proposed and proposes to every country that is really interested in the consolidation of security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region to open a dialogue on these matters. This is necessary in order to have an idea about each other's intentions and actions not on the basis of indirect and often tendentious information but on the basis of first-hand information. Mikhail Gorbachev's message to Corazon Aquino as chairman of the third ASEAN summit should be viewed precisely in this spirit.

The view holds that the Philippines and other ASEAN countries can best ensure their security not by perpetuating military bases on their territories but through the implementation of the ideas that were formulated at the third ASEAN summit, specifically, that of the creation of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality (ZOPFAN), of proclaiming southeast Asia a nuclear weapons-free zone, etc. On its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to do everything within its power to promote the implementation of these ideas. If real efforts toward their practical implementation are made, the Soviet Union, as Mikhail Gorbachev said in Vladivostok, "will not be found wanting".

U.S. Pacific Portcalls Pose 'Security Threat'

OW100911 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asian-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 4 Jan 87

[Excerpts] According to a Japanese paper, the number of portcalls by U.S. nuclear warships carrying Tomahawk cruise guided missiles has increased markedly. Such warships made 22 calls to Japanese ports in 1986; the number rose by 50% to 34 in 1987. It has been learned that U.S. bombers have increased activity in the northwestern Pacific. The paper [name indistinct] wrote: Their aim is to practice how to attack the Soviet Pacific city of Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka. Last year these weapons-carrying bombers came within 90 miles of the Soviet coast on at least 24 occasions. The paper emphasized that it was the first time a superpower had sent bombers to approach a city of another superpower. These facts expose the aggressive nature of U.S. military strategy in the Asian-Pacific region. [passage omitted]

A U.S. expert talked about the new aims of this strategy. He said that, for example, the task of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps was to land and occupy Sakhalin Island and Kamchatka Peninsula. The Air Force would coordinate with them in these large-scale operations. The main force in this strategy would be the 125 nuclear-tipped Tomahawk cruise guided missiles carried aboard U.S. warships. According to this strategy, these warships are entering Japanese ports with increasing frequency. Also stationed in Japan and Okinawa are F-16 fighters carrying nuclear weapons and B-50 bombers equipped with cruise guided missiles. [passage omitted]

The plans of U.S. and Japanese naval strategists pose a security threat to nations in this region and run counter to the wishes of the people of Japan and other nations. People of these nations wish to see the INF treaty become a starting point for ending the nuclear arms race, for reducing military confrontation, and for developing mutual trust and understanding among people.

Leadership Marks PRK's 9th Anniversary

PM081433 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Leadership's undated greeting to Cambodian leaders on PRK's 9th anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Heng Samrin, Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee general secretary and PRK Council of State chairman

Comrade Chea Sim, KPRP Central Committee Politburo member and PRK National Assembly chairman

Comrade Hun Sen, KPRP Central Committee Politburo member and PRK Council of Ministers chairman

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people send you and, through you, the KPRP Central Committee, the PRK Council of State, National Assembly, and Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Cambodian people cordial greetings on the 9th anniversary of the PRK proclamation. The PRK's formation opened up before the country the prospect of

national rebirth. Over the past 9 years the Cambodian people have achieved appreciable results in all spheres of economic and cultural building.

While creatively resolving its internal tasks, the PRK is pursuing an active foreign policy. The love of peace and the good will of the people's power have found new expression in the PRK Government's program statements on national reconciliation and a political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Those documents and the PRK's practical measures in realizing them are making a weighty contribution to the common struggle of peace-loving forces to assert relations of friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in southeast Asia. The dialogue which has begun between Comrade Hun Sen, head of the PRK Government, and N. Sihanouk is an important step in the process of national reconciliation. This event meets with the approval of everyone with an interest in the speediest reestablishment of lasting peace and concord on Cambodia's long-suffering soil.

The Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that Soviet-Cambodian relations are developing successfully, all-around cooperation is growing and deepening, and its forms are being improved. The USSR will continue to strengthen bonds of friendship with people's Cambodia and give it assistance in creative labor and the struggle for a peaceful life.

We wish the KPRP Central Committee, the PRK Council of State, National Assembly, and Council of Ministers, and all the country's working people great successes in realizing the Fifth KPRP Congress decisions and in their efforts to achieve national reconciliation and a political settlement in the name of the Cambodian people's highest interests.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers.

Several Attend Ceremony

BK100702 Phnom Penh SPK in French 1148 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Phnom Penh, 9 Jan (SPK)—A solemn meeting was held on 6 January at the Union House in Moscow to mark the PRK's 9th anniversary.

Attending the meeting, which was organized by the CPSU's Moscow Committee, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Soviet Committee for support of people in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and other organizations, were:

V.P. Orlov, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium vice chairman; V.K. Gusev, vice USSR Council of Ministers vice chairman; and many other Soviet others. On the Cambodian side were Khim Pon, deputy interior minister and Cambodia-USSR Friendship Association vice chairman; and Cambodian Ambassador Hor Nam Hong.

In his speech, the chairman of the USSR-Cambodia Friendship Association A.M. Paramonov highlighted the successes scored by the Cambodian people under the leadership of the KPRP and the PRK Government during the past years. The CPSU and the Soviet Government and people, he stressed, continue to invariably support the PRK's national reconciliation policy and its good will in the search for a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

The USSR-Cambodia Friendship Association will spare no efforts in further assisting the fraternal Cambodian people and in promoting friendship and active cooperation between the two people, Soviet and Cambodian.

For his part, Khim Pon recalled the Cambodian people's success and highlighted the national reconciliation policy and the good will of the PRK in the search for a political solution to the Cambodian problem and that of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

In particular, he stressed the first positive signs in the joint communique of the meeting in France last December between chairman of the Council of Ministers Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk.

After thanking the CPSU and the Soviet Government for their assistance to Cambodia and expressing satisfaction at the the happy development of the friendship and all-around cooperation between the two countries, Khim Pon said:

"The successive meetings in July and November 1987 between General Secretaries Heng Samrin and M. Gorbachev have given a new impetus to the Cambodia-USSR relations. The KPRP and the PRK Government fully support the policy of peace conducted by the CPSU and the Soviet Government and see in the recent signing in Washington of a Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate and short range nuclear weapons a victory of the USSR's Leninist policy of peace and peace forces the world over.

"It is an extremely important step toward the total elimination of nuclear weapons from our planet."

'Solidarity' Voiced

PM081555 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet people voice solidarity with the Cambodian people's struggle to overcome the grave legacy of genocide and to ensure peace in their long-suffering land.

This was emphasized at a 6 January ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow working people devoted to the 9th anniversary of the PRK's formation—the PRK national day.

Khim Pon, head of a Cambodian-Soviet Friendship Association delegation, spoke about life in Cambodia today. The guest noted the historic significance of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington and the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles. The government and people of Cambodia, he said, support the USSR's steps and initiatives aimed at preserving and strengthening world peace.

Participating in the meeting were V.P. Orlov, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman; V.K. Gusev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; leaders of a number of ministries and departments, representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, and also Hor Nam Hong, PRK ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day Hor Nam Hong held a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists at the PRK Embassy in the USSR to mark the national day.

PRK Progress Reviewed

PM081517 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Vinogradov dispatch: "January 7 Is Kampuchea's National Holiday. According to the Revolutionary Calendar"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—In line with tradition it is customary to celebrate the New Year in Kampuchea not 1 January, as in most countries in the world, but according to the Buddhist calendar on the night of 13/14 April. New year topics, if they appear now on the pages of Phnom Penh newspapers, mainly concern the economic and political life of the republic, which is currently marking the 9th anniversary of its formation. This is only natural. Ancient traditions and customs go their own way, but the plans and activity of the state are geared to the regular calendar.

Khieu Kanyarit, chief editor of the newspaper KAMPUCHEA, receiving me in his office, said:

"This is perhaps the first time in the last 9 years that such real opportunities to solve the problems built up in the past have arisen. I am thinking principally of the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by our government several months ago, which is already beginning to yield positive results. This course meets with the approval and support of the whole people, who are tired of war, confrontation, and national disunity. No one, of course, harbors any illusion that the planned normalization will be achieved rapidly, there are still quite a few difficulties. But, I repeat, the first steps in this direction are encouraging..."

My interlocutor considered that the direct dialogue started up between the PRK Government and opposition forces is one factor inspiring confidence in possible progress. As people will be aware, the second meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk is scheduled for January. The fact that Hun Sen will also be there as foreign minister, to which additional post he was recently appointed by decision of the PRK State Council, has also attracted attention. Everything indicates that the PRK Government is interested in maintaining the course of developing dialogue.

The results of the first meeting between Hun Sen and Sihanouk held at the beginning of December in the Paris suburb of Fere-en-Tardenois continue to arouse lively commentary and have been unequivocally regarded as a success and as providing the basis for a future compromise. The main thing is that agreement has been reached that the Cambodian issue must be solved by talks and consultation among all sides involved in the conflict. Sihanouk's not always consistent or completely principled stand in this instance is being met with understanding and even sympathy in Phnom Penh.

"The complexity of the situation in which the prince finds himself must be taken into account," K. Kanyarit said. "He is subject to influence from many forces, including forces which would like to stymie the process of national reconciliation. Above all, the Pol Pot grouping, headed by Khieu Samphan, and the so-called 'Khmer People's National Liberation Front,' headed by Son Sann."

At present the position of the Pol Pot supporters, the biggest military grouping in the opposition, remains intransigent, and there are no signs at all that they will engage in talks. Supported from abroad with finance, weapons, and food, they continue to gamble on armed struggle and terror to overthrow the legitimate PRK Government. Although the senselessness and futility of these tactics are becoming increasingly obvious to them as people's power strengthens in Cambodia and the republic's regular Army grows and becomes tempered in the struggle against the enemy.

The PRK Government welcomes the ever-increasing number of deceived Cambodians who are returning home from exile. Local organs of people's power are seeking to create the necessary conditions of normal, peaceful life for this. Un Dar, Central Commission for Repatriation Work chairman, said during his meeting with me in Phnom Penh that the number of returnees

since the declaration of the national reconciliation policy has been considerably up on other years. Last year alone more than 5,000 people left camps in Thailand and returned to their homes.

The commission is actively cooperating with a number of international organizations that have missions in refugee camps on Thai territory.

"We know," Un Dan said at the end of our conversation, "that our government's statement of 8 October 1987 has met with a great response among refugees. The people's power is making every effort now to develop jointly with the Thai side a clear procedure for returnees whereby their safety and the observance of necessary repatriation rules will be guaranteed."

It should, however, be noted that it is not only problems of a political nature, for all their importance, that define People's Kampuchea today. We have already noted that the year's economic results are being summed up in the country. Last season the climate was unfavorable to farmers. The drought that afflicted South Asia did not spare Cambodia either. Traveling around various provinces in the PRK I saw peasants engaged in fighting the damages of the bad weather, retilling the fields, replanting seedlings, and storing water in reservoirs.

Noum Vanda, chairman of the PRK State Planning Commission, said during an interview with your correspondent that the country will experience a 200,000-tonne shortfall of rice. That, of course, is a lot—roughly one-ninth of the harvest that has been steadily obtained in recent years, but there are no grounds for panic. It is planned to make up the food shortage with livestock products and by expanding the area under vegetable crops and rice this present dry season. More than 220,000 hectares are allocated for this.

"Last year," Noum Vanda said, "cannot be considered indicative. If you look at the figures for meeting targets in the current 5-year plan, the overall ongoing dynamics of development in all sectors are clearly apparent. We should note appreciable achievements in trade and economic activity, not to mention successes in health care, education, and culture. The drought did, of course, cause certain damage to agriculture. But the task of increasing rice output by 7% by 1990 compared with the 1st year of the 5-year plan and raising per capita consumption of this product to 350 kg remains a basic directive. It will be solved, we are in no doubt about this, just as the other agricultural and industrial development plans will be fulfilled. The diligence of our people and the assistance offered by the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and other socialist countries guarantee this. I should particularly stress that this assistance is of invaluable significance for the revival of the Cambodian economy."

The scale of PRK cooperation with fraternal socialist countries is growing. New forms of collaboration are emerging, outmoded ones are being reexamined, and principles of efficiency and mutual benefit in line with the modern requirements of economic development are being established.

The PRK enters the 10th year of its existence with the hope and expectation of changes for the better. The revolutionary transformations in the ancient land of Angkor are irreversible. On their path to peace and prosperity the Cambodian people enjoy the understanding and support of all progressive forces.

Economic, Political Developments

PM081651 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent M. Domogatskikh dispatch: "At the Turning Point. January 7 is the 9th Anniversary of the Cambodian Revolution"]

[Excerpts] Phnom Penh-Hanoi—[Passage omitted] Every year, in celebrating the anniversary of the victory of the Cambodian people over the dark forces of the previous regime, people throughout the world remember over and over again the tragedy of the ancient country and write about the sacrifices and sufferings of millions of people, and this probably cannot be avoided because otherwise you cannot understand either Cambodia today or its past. [passage omitted]

The Fifth Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Congress, which adopted a program for society's further restoration and development, set the task of substantially changing by 1990 the country's socioeconomic face, achieving a 3 million tonne rice harvest, boosting the country's industrial potential, and developing transport, communications, public health, education, and science. A great deal has been done in each of these spheres, but a great deal still remains to be done in the future. Whatever problem the country tackles it primarily experiences a lack of cadres because those who ought now to be shouldering the country's development were killed during the domination of the Pol Pot supporter

"No party has difficulties like ours," people at the KPRP Central Committee said to me, "because we have to wait until the young generation grows up before we can teach it to manage factories and machines, teach and treat people, and construct and manage the economy. It is not merely literate people, whose numbers are ever on the increase, who are needed everywhere but leaders in the sphere of politics, economy, and culture. Therefore training is the main thing. In our country both ordinary communists and members of the Central Committee, workers and enterprise leaders, peasants and solidarity team leaders study."

The comrades say that the party will have to be a truly organizing and leading force. As yet 13,000 Communists for a population of 8 million is too small a percentage. Of the country's 157 counties, only 95 have provisional party cells. In one-third of rural communities there is not a single communist. All the same, despite the complexity of the tasks, the party has an ever-increasing influence on the country's life and is acquiring sympathizers and an aktiv and outlining paths for the resolute reorganization of society. It is precisely the successes in the socioeconomic sphere and in the growth of the people's political awareness which have enabled the question of implementing a program of national reconciliation to be placed on the agenda.

This policy's profound and humane aim is to end the bloodshed, give the Cambodian people peace, put an end to the internecine struggle and strife, find ways to resolve the tight knot of problems acceptable to all sides in the conflict, apart from the Pol Pot clique, which will never deserve the nation's forgiveness, and embark on constructing a prosperous Cambodia on the principles of national harmony.

In the few months that it has been under way, the policy of national reconciliation has shown that the future belongs to it. Stratification has begun and hostility is flaring up in the ranks of the Khmer reactionary emigres and there is an increase in the numbers leaving the enemy camp and switching to the side of the people on hearing about the PRK Governments's policy.

The policy of national reconciliation is dividing the revolutionary groupings. But while some of them are hesitantly inclined toward seeking ways for reconciliation, others—this primarily applies to the largest grouping, headed by Pol Pot—do not want to resign themselves to the prospect of the collapse of their plans. Lacking the potential to carry out massive terrorist raids on the country with impunity, Pol Pot's supporters have devised the tactic of infiltrating in small groups and using the carrot and stick method. They enlist supporters and intimidate those who waver.

The contacts begun between the PRK Government and representatives of those emigre circles thinking about peace for Cambodia and a cessation of the bloodshed show that the Cambodian people have reached a turning point at the 9th anniversary of their revolution, namely the policy of national reconciliation.

Moscow Views Cambodian Situation, PRC Policy

OW081423 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Valentinov commentary]

[Text] The Cambodian people celebrate their national day on 7 January. Nine years ago today they brought the people's uprising to a successful ending, liberated the nation from the bloody rule of the Pol Pot clique, and founded the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], with the building of a socialist society as its goal. On this, our station observer Valentinov writes the following commentary:

It seems it was not very long ago that we waited anxiously for news from the press agencies and radio stations about the progress of the revolutionary army in their assault on Phnom Penh, the citadel of the Pol Pot regime. I remember news reports about chieftains of the Pol Pot regime in panic and its troops fleeing the capital for the Thai border in the west without a fight. I can also vividly recall shots of the red flag with the golden flame of Angkor Temple fluttering in the air over the liberated Phnom Penh.

Nine years have passed since then. We can say without exaggeration that over these years the situation in Cambodia has always been at the center of world public opinion. The enemies of the Cambodian people have done everything possible to obstruct their concerted efforts to build the country, including rehabilitating the economy, reviving the national culture, and reestablishing the educational and public health systems that were destroyed by the Pol Pot clique.

The Cambodian people, however, who longed for peace, were unable to lead a peaceful life after 7 January 1979. A new war, an undeclared but real war, was launched upon them. Anti-imperialists in the West and anticommunist groups in some Asian countries have continued to support the remnants of the Pol Pot bandits and other opposition groups in Cambodia, who found sanctuary in Thai territory neighboring Cambodia. I think [words indistinct] the Pol Pot clique. Compared with Washington's obvious stand [words indistinct], the Chinese leaders' stand is too complicated to be interpreted. It is probably caused by political inertia and the aftershock of the so-called Cultural Revolution. At that time, China's foreign policy was controlled by a group of adventurists. Therefore, the present Chinese leaders should also assume responsibility for that time. Let me repeat: This is much to my regret.

While celebrating the 9th anniversary of the victory of revolution in Cambodia, we are pleased to point out that the Cambodian people [words indistinct] have normalized their domestic life and created the conditions for socialist construction. Every year, dozens of new or renovated plants are completed and put into operation for the national economy; public health and education undertakings are advancing without impediment; the national culture is being restored. The domestic and foreign policies of the People's Revolutionary Party and the PRK Government have received popular support from the Cambodian people.

The idea of national reconciliation among all confronting parties merged in Cambodia in the course of the revolution. Regardless of who incited the Khmer counterrevolutionaries, the Cambodian people, who are all

keen to the motherland's happiness and freedom, have been fighting against each other. In view of this, last year the PRK Government put forth a detailed plan for national reconciliation through extensive dialogue, inviting all Cambodian organizations, groups, and individual activists, including the Khmer Rouge, to take part in the dialogue. Only chieftains of the Pol Pot clique who are personally responsible for the massacre of the Cambodian people between 1975 and 1978 are excluded from dialogue. The idea of dialogue immediately received response from all opposition parties in Cambodia. In just the 4 months since last August the dialogue has already been underway. A month ago leader of the PRK Government Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk agreed, at their meeting outside Paris, on the basic principles for peaceful mediation of the Cambodia question. Leader of another opposition group Son Sann, who is the former prime minister, also expressed his support for Prince Sihanouk. Finally, another meeting has been scheduled for January this year between Sihanouk and Hun Sen to discuss concrete matters in the course of mediation. The road may be long for the two sides, but the first step on this road, which is probably the most difficult, has already been taken.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Withdrawal 'Could Begin on 1 May'

PM111203 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Political Diary": "Concerning Afghanistan"]

[Text] Can 1988 be the year of long-awaited peace for Afghanistan? That question naturally comes to mind during these days of January, marked by heightened diplomatic activity connected with the Afghan problem.

USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze began the year with a working visit to Afghanistan. At the same time M. Armacost, U.S. under secretary of state, was visiting Pakistan. D. Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general, will soon be visiting Kabul and Islamabad. Hopes are growing among the world public that the next round of Afghan-Pakistani talks conducted through his mediation in Geneva, due in February, may be conclusive.

On the whole, the situation at the Geneva talks is developing favorably. Virtually the entire package of necessary accords has already been agreed. The Soviet side's recent contacts with representatives of other states confirm that good international preconditions exist for settling the situation around Afghanistan and for ending external interference in its affairs. This, in turn, will make it possible to withdraw Soviet forces from Afghanistan over a period of 12 months, something on which Moscow and Kabul are in full understanding and agreement.

Characterizing the U.S. Administration's attitude to recent events around Afghanistan, a White House official spokesman stated recently: "What we have is a situation that gives definite grounds for optimism." However, the question of when U.S. aid to the dushmans will end received the answer: "That has still not been settled. As soon as a precise starting date and timetable are set for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, it will clearly be possible to quickly settle other questions too."

As for the "date and timetable," I do not believe there is any need to make wild guesses or, more precisely, to confuse the issue. It is sufficient to look at the documents already agreed upon in Geneva. As far as I am aware, they envisage that no more than 60 days after the signing of the accords a commitment on the cessation of external interference will enter into force with the USSR and the United States as guarantors (of the cessation). It should be emphasized that the U.S. side has agreed to be a guarantor and accordingly to terminate its aid to the armed groupings conducting combat operations in Afghanistan against the legitimate authority.

The Soviet troop withdrawal will begin when the aforementioned commitment becomes operative. If the Geneva accords are signed on 1 March (and by all accounts the Afghan side intends to work toward that end), the withdrawal could begin on 1 May. The 2-month gap is no random figure: It is conditioned by the need to allow Islamabad time to remove the dushman bases on Pakistani territory.

In short, the problem has to do not with the date when the Soviet troop withdrawal begins but with the date when U.S. aid to the dushmans ends.

Afghanistan's patriots have defended the gains of the April Revolution. Soviet internationalist servicemen stood beside them in the most difficult stages of the struggle. They will leave Afghanistan with a sense of having done their duty when the external interference ceases.

The new political thinking has determinedly sought ways and means to exclude a military solution of the problem. That was how the plans for a political settlement concerning Afghanistan arose. The essence of the policy of national reconciliation is also that the opposing sides can shape the future Afghanistan not by armed struggle but by participation in a general Afghan political dialogue, in decisionmaking, and in the administration of the country.

Positive changes in the international situation have also increased the hopes of a settlement of the Afghan problem this year. But another related factor cannot be overlooked. The policy of national reconciliation pursued by Kabul, which reflects general trends in the world, is in turn having a favorable influence on the international climate, both in itself and as a possible model for a settlement of other regional problems.

I believe all the forces involved in the inter-Afghan conflict must understand that, by laying the path toward reconciliation and national consensus, they are also serving both their own interests and those of mankind in general. In particular, there is no doubt that an accord on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan would be an important additional precondition for the fruitful holding of the next Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow.

French Journalist Jailing in Afghanistan Viewed

LD100450 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0335 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—"A Fitting Finale" is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's headline on a report by A. Oliynik from Kabul about French citizen A. Guillo, who entered Afghanistan illegally and has been sentenced to 10 years in prison for espionage activity.

The investigation proved convincingly that Guillo, who described himself as a "freelance journalist," "was working not so much for the press as for Western secret services, and was collecting information of a military and political nature," writes the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent.

Guillo entered Afghan territory nine times illegally through the "back door." He "travelled" accompanied by bodyguards armed to the teeth and was sometimes accompanied by foreigners. The photos, video cassettes, letters of recommendation, diaries, and dozens of large-scale maps taken off Guillo are convincing proof of his espionage activity, writes the author.

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent goes on: During the investigation, which lasted for more than a month, it was established that the marks on the maps taken from Guillo were the locations of Soviet and Afghan guardposts and outposts and the routes of military columns. Guillo was particularly interested in the gas and oil pipeline in Shibarghan, one of the most important projects of Soviet-Afghan cooperation, and its route and protection system were carefully marked. Guillo also showed a fixed interest in the Soviet border and tried to take pictures of the river, the Amu Darya. He did not disdain counting and carefully noting in his diary the number and types of arms in the gangs he visited, being particularly interested in the modern "Stinger" and Blowpipe" anti-aircraft missiles.

Armacost's Visit to Pakistan Ends

LD071244 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Islamabad January 7 TASS—U.S. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost has ended his visit to Pakistan. During three days of his stay in Islamabad the U.S. emissary held negotiations with First Deputy Foreign Minister of Pakistan Abdus Sattar and other officials. The American aid to Pakistan, the Pakistani nuclear programme and the Persian Gulf situation were discussed. Special attention at the negotiations was paid to the Afghanistan situation.

Speaking at a press conference, Michael Armacost pledged full support for the warfare being waged by the Afghan dushmans against the Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan's stand on the question.

During a meeting with Afghan dushman leaders Michael Armacost assured them that the United States would be giving counterrevolutionaries assistance and support until they had their aims reached.

Noteworthy is the fact that such pronouncements have been made on the threshold of the regular round in indirect Afghan-Pakistani negotiations in Geneva which, the Afghan leadership hopes, will become the decisive and concluding one in political settlement of the Afghanistan situation. The Soviet Union's readiness to withdraw its troops within 12 months' time and the Afghan Governmen''s national reconciliation programme create favourable possibilities for that. But the efforts of the governments of the two countries are insufficient. This question could be resolved only through the termination of foreign interference, including the termination of arms deliveries to the Afghan dushmans. It is necessary that all conflicting sides should display good will and promote by their concrete actions normalisation of the situation in that country.

Fadeyev on Armacost Tour

LD070525 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 6 Jan 88

[From the "International Diary—Events, Facts, Opinion" program, presented by Konstantin Patsyuk]

[Text] [Patsyuk] Michael Armacost, U.S. under secretary of state for political affairs, completes his visit to Islamabad today. He held talks with Pakistani leaders, during which the Afghan problem was discussed in light of the forthcoming visit to Pakistan and Afghanistan by Cordovez, the personal representative of the UN secretary general, and the next round of Pakistani-Afghan talks in Geneva.

As is known, from the forthcoming round of these talks many people—and primarily those who are sincerely interested in the soonest possible end to the bloody war in Afghanistan—expect decisions and documents to result which will end the explosive situation in this region of the globe. It would seem that Armacost's current visit to Islamabad should serve this purpose, should but for one circumstance, or more precisely one point in the program of this visit. However, I ask my colleague, commentator Vladimir Fadeyev, to talk about this in somewhat greater detail.

[Fadeyev] This point, or more precisely, a considerable part of the program for Michael Armacost's official visit to Pakistan is repeated each time with a marked degree of compulsoriness: The U.S. representative without fail meets the rebel ringleaders; he inspects their combat training and associates himself with their bellicose ardor. Of course, he also presents an appropriate message from the U.S. President, which again each time contains assurances of continued aid to the rebels for waging war in Afghanistan. This war is of course called none other than the just cause of the Afghan people, and the rebels, terrorists, and murderers themselves are called freedom fighters.

However, there is nothing new in this. This script was observed this time as well. Today, when our calendars are counting off the first days of the new year, we pay special attention to this point. This year at last promises a peaceful settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. Najibullah, the country's president, has announced a 12-month withdrawal of Soviet troops. During his official visit to Washington, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that this period could even be shortened if U.S. military aid to the rebels is halted and Pakistan stops making its territory available to them and rendering services as Washington's intermediary.

On the whole, it is clear to everyone who is attentively following events in Afghanistan that only these conditions are saving the rebels from complete annihilation. So the question of whether the war is to continue depends on whether Washington manifests goodwill this year for a real, practical settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. So far there are more words and assurances about a striving for a settlement. In practice there prevails what I have just recalled, plus incessant attempts to delude not only U.S. public opinion but also world public opinion by means of far-fetched pretexts and reservations on the positions of the Afghan and Soviet sides. The myth about the Soviet wish to maintain a so-called pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of troops is one such strong—in the view of the U.S. side—argument which has been recently advanced. This is being done after we repeatedly stressed that this matter is an internal affair of the Afghan people, who should be given the opportunity to resolve all this. however, the point is precisely that: While talking about a political settlement of the Afghan problem and generously scattering appeals for peace in the land of Afghanistan, official Washington has not yet once stated its intention to halt its aid to the bandits through whose fault the blood of Afghan civilians is being shed. This is also the case now, with a very important round of Afghan-Pakistani talks due to start in Geneva a few weeks from now, the White house, to all appearances, intends to continue giving support to the rebels.

Afghan Withdrawal, Armacost Viewed

OW080515 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Jan 88

[From the "World Today" program presented by Boris Kalyagin]

[Text] The world press is centering its attention on the working visit of Eduard Amvrosyevich Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, to Afghanistan. Observers particularly noted the words spoken by Comrade Shevardnadze in an interview with BAKHTAR news agency that the Afghan-Pakistan talks, which are taking place in Geneva through the personal representative of the UN secretary general, have entered a decisive stage. There is a possibility that these talks will be completed during the scheduled round in February.

Should this happen, then the obligation to stop foreign interference will go into effect. The USSR and the United States will act as guarantors of this.

Comrade Shevardnadze emphasized that the American side has expressed its willingness to act as a guarantor and correspondingly to stop rendering help to the armed groups waging military actions in Afghanistan against the people's authorities. Should these agreements be signed, then within 60 days of the signing, the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan will begin and will be completed within a year. Thus, the year 1988, which has just begun, could well be the last year of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan.

Eduard Amvrosyevich Shevardnadze said our troops will leave Afghanistan with a clear conscience and the awareness of duty well done when foreign interference comes to an end.

Unfortunately, the United States is still trying, at the last moment, to hinder this agreement. This is the only way one can appraise the 3 day visit to Pakistan of M. Armacost, U.S. under secretary for political affairs.

Washington's emissary met with Afghan rebel leaders and assured them that the United States intends to continue its support for the dushmans. Admittedly, one detail is noteworthy—at first Armacost intended to meet with with counterrevolutionary leaders in Peshawar, which is near the Pakistan-Afghan border. However, at the last minute Washington and Islamabad must have thought that under present conditions, this would seem to be an openly provocative gesture. Thus, the meeting with the dushmans did take place, but the venue was moved to the capital of Pakistan.

Khowst District Returns to Normality

LD091028 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 9 TASS—The state of affairs in the Afghan border district of Khowst, which was cut off from the country's central areas by counter-revolutionary forces for almost nine years, gradually comes back to normal.

The tenth convoy with food and manufactured goods for the population has already reached the city, and the overall weight of delivered cargoes has amounted to 15,000 tons.

Sixty private-owned and two state-run shops have reopened in Khowst. In state-run shops goods are sold at fixed low prices.

The prices of flour, salt, fats, and fuel sold by private traders have become considerably lower. A kilogram of rice costs now only 130 afghanis as against 440 two weeks ago.

Due to the supply of fuel more than 30 tractors operate again on the fields, and about a thousand private cars are being driven.

Rehabilitation work was resumed in the district. Military and civilian builders are working to rebuild almost two hundred bridges and fifty kilometres of roads destroyed by counter-revolutionaries.

The construction of facilities to protest fields from mud torrents has been started.

More on Khowst Situation

LD100954 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0625 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul, 10 Jan (TASS)—The situation in the district of Khowst, Paktia province, is gradually returning to normal. The first convoys of vehicles carrying food and other goods moved into districts under the administrative control of this region Saturday. They are transporting wheat, tea, sugar, soap, clothing, and other essential goods.

Over the period since the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, 1,740 Afghans have returned to Khowst from abroad, and elections to local bodies of power have been held in 144 inhabited areas of the region. Out of 563 representatives elected there, 49 people are former members of antigovernment armed groups. Government power has been established peacefully in 23 villages [kishlaks], and 5 inhabited areas have been declared peace zones. A total of 150 prisoners convicted earlier for counterrevolutionary activity have been released from prisons. The state, which has despatched various goods worth over 2 million afghanis, has provided great assistance to the inhabitants of Khowst.

Kabul resident Abdul Rahim, who returned in December from Pakistan, where he spent more than 4 years, spoke of the heavy lot of the Afghans abroad. Afghan refugees in Pakistan, he said, live in horrifying poverty. They are deprived of elementary means for existence and of medical aid; they are starving. Tens of Afghan children are dying from infectious diseases and undernourishment in Pakistani camps every day. But the ringleaders of the counterrevolution are living in fine houses; they are wallowing in luxury and debauchery and are not at all concerned by the fate of their compatriots. Representatives of the Pakistani authorities insult the refugees, subject them to cruel tortures, and throw them in prison. Any attempts by Afghans to return to their homeland are persecuted. However, our people's will for freedom and a peaceful life is great. Despite the terror, hundreds of the families of reuguees are ultimately breaking out into Afghanistan, Abdul Rahim stressed.

Death of Khomeyni 'Will Hardly Change' Iran

18070049 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 19 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by M. Krutikhin (TASS): "After Khomeyni—An End to the War?"]

[Text] Several days ago London newspapers spread, not for the first time, a "sensational" report: Ayatollah Khomeyni is near death. The Iranian leadership hurried to disprove this information; Tehran television quickly showed Khomeyni receiving a delegation at his residence. The British announced that this subject was an old film clip....The rumors are not dying down.

Conjectures on the state of health of the 87-year old "leader of the Islamic revolution, founder of the Islamic Republic, hope for the unfortunate of the whole world" (as Khomeyni is officialy called in Iran) have again given rise to a wave of all kinds of forecasts as to whether the Iran-Iraq war will end after the death of this stubborn, fanatical figure. A number of Western observers have raised from the archives of their newspapers old analytical articles, where it is said that only the implacability of the ayatollah is hindering the success of the efforts in reconciling the warring sides.

However, the authors of such forecasts have not troubled themselves with a look at who really determines the current Iranian policy. The personality of Khomeyni is, of course, a very powerful factor in Iran but he, as experience shows, for a long time has not made any concrete political decisions, but only issues very vague general phrases about the necessity of the "triumph of Islam", the "hostility of the superpowers", and so on. A significantly sized group of Muslim clergymen leads the "Islamic Republic." Inside it, however, there are currents and hostile factions, for whom Khomeyni often acts as a mediator or arbiter. But here is what is remarkable: In the whole time after its accession to power in 1979, the ruling group of clergy did not demonstrate one single constructive activity (we have in mind steps on the side of progress, directed toward the development of productive forces of the country, toward an increase in the well-being of the Iranian people.) The complete incompetence of the Islamic theologians in guaranteeing social and economic development has already been noted more than once by researchers. The war with Iraq, which broke out in 1980, became for

Khomeyni's circle a "divine gift." They are glad to ascribe their own weakness and lack of desire to do anything to the military burdens and the need for self-sacrifice.

It is no accident that official Tehran frustrated all peaceful initiatives and rejected under various pretexts all attempts at mediation in resolving the conflict with Iraq. The war in this case is a meal ticket for the theologians as well as for the politicians. Except for bloodthirsty calls for new sacrifices in the name of overthrowing the government of a neighboring country and spreading the "Islamic Revolution" throughout the world, they are unable to propose anything to their own people. This is a destructive, not a constructive, force.

Therefore, the death of Khomeyni will hardly change anything in the course of the Iranian leaders and will hardly lead to an end to the senseless war. More likely, on the other hand, the end of military actions will inevitably bring about the fall of the Islamic regime in its current guise, if, of course, it does not unleash a new armed conflict somewhere in order to distract the Iranians from unsolved internal problems.

Jordanian Delegation Visits USSR for MIG-29's

NC091824 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Our radio has learned that a Jordanian military delegation visited the Soviet Union recently. The members of the delegation held talks with military officials about purchasing MIG-29 aircraft and visited the factory that manufactures them.

Our correspondent, citing a military report, notes that there is close military cooperation between the Soviet Union and Jordan, adding that Soviet experts have just finished constructing a Soviet-made antiaircraft missile system in Jordan. Diplomatic sources in Beirut recall the disagreement between the United States and Jordan over the issue of armament and the United States' failure to provide Jordan with advanced weapons. This has opened the door wide open for Jordanian-Soviet military cooperation. The same sources add that, among many other subjects, King Husayn discussed this weapons deal during his recent visit to Moscow.

Diplomats in Moscow note that the two parties failed to reach complete agreement on the topics discussed, which explains why no joint communique was issued at the conclusion of the visit. The same diplomats add that the Soviet media did not carry the full text of the Jordanian monarch's speech but omitted the paragraph attacking Iran for its failure to implement UN Resolution 598. This means that the Soviets want to give the Islamic Republic another chance to accept implementation of the resolution.

Brutents Holds Talks With Kuwaiti Amir, Others

LD072151 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Kuwait, 7 Jan (TASS)—Karen Brutents, special envoy of the Soviet leadership, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, arrived in Kuwait. He was received by Jabir al-Sabah, amir of Kuwait. The head of Kuwait was informed about the results of the meeting in Washington between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, about the Soviet appraisal of its international significance, and future prospects for strengthening peace and disarmament.

Karen Brutents explained the Soviet position on the Iran-Iraq war, stressing the need for a most speedy end to the regional conflict and shifting it into the channel of a political settlement.

Having expressed acknowledgement to the Soviet Union for the important and useful information, the amir stated that he regards this step as a manifestation of friendly Soviet-Kuwaiti relations. He gave a high appraisal of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which exerts a favorable influence on the process of nuclear disarmament and relaxation of international tension. This document, Jabir al-Sabah noted, is of vital importance for all humanity.

During conversations between the Soviet envoy and Sabah al-Ahmad, deputy prime minister and Kuwaiti minister of foreign affairs, and Sulayman al-Shahin, under secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attention was drawn to the USSR's position in support of the UN secretary general's efforts to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 598, and to the proposal to establish international naval forces of the United Nations in the Persian Gulf in the interests of reducing tension in this region.

Holds Kuwait News Conference

LD082229 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2155 GMT 8 Jan 88

[text] Kuwait, 8 Jan (TASS)—Karen Brutents, special representative of the Soviet leadership, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, who was staying in Kuwait, gave a news conference to local journalists. He said he visited Kuwait on the instructions of the Soviet leadership to meet with Kuwaiti leaders and inform them of the results of the meeting between M. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan and of the Soviet appraisal of the international significance of the results of the Washington talks.

I would like to note with satisfaction that the information given to Amir Jabir al-Sabah, deputy prime minister and foreign Minister Sulayman al-Shahin was met with due interest and understanding, Karen Brutents said.

An exchange of opinion on other international problems was also held during the talks. It was of an open and friendly nature.

Touching upon UN Security Council Resolution 598, the Soviet representative said the USSR presses for its complete implementation on all provisions. Our main aim is to ensure that a pointless war, harmful for Arabs and Iranians, from which hostile forces profit, should be ended as soon as possible. The USSR vigorously supports the efforts of the UN secretary general toward implementing Resolution 598. These efforts are exerted on the basis of the stand of all five permanent members of the Security Council.

Asked whether the Soviet Union is prepared to adopt the resolution on the embargo on arms deliveries to Iran, Karen Brutents replied that many view this resolution as an incantation. But the resolution in itself cannot effectively stem the flow of arms to Iran, he said. Therefore, it should be viewed in conjunction with other methods. Without rejecting that resolution, we hold that the solution to the problem should be switched to the political process, he said. We believe that the mission of the UN secretary general should be continued, as it has not exhausted itself. We participated in the discussion of the resolution on an embargo, and we do so concerning the linkage with the UN secretary general's mission by promoting the widening of his efforts. We view the resolution as part of the solution to the problem of war in the region.

Dwelling on the creation of a UN naval force in the Persian Gulf, the Soviet representative emphasized the importance of solving the problem of freedom and safety of shipping. It is high time that an end were put to the concentration of naval forces of certain powers in the Gulf, since it does nothing to end the Iran-Iraq conflict but only brings tension into the situation in the region. The Soviet proposal for creating a UN naval force is meeting with increasing recognition.

K.N. Brutents then set out the USSR's position on the Palestinian problem, stressing that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine and must have every right to take part in the preparation and holding of an international conference on the Near East.

We support and shall continue to support the struggle of the Palestinian people for their inalienable rights. The excesses of the Israeli occupiers in the Arab territories arouse the anger and indignation of the Soviet people. What the occupiers are doing amounts to the crudest flouting of the norms of international law. On the other hand, all this dmeonstrates that Tel Aviv's policies have come to a dead end, since they already run counter to Israel's own interests.

Setting out the USSR's approach to settling the problem surrounding Afghanistan, K.N. Brutents noted that the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the DRA must be attended by the cessation of external intereference in the affairs of that country by hostile, warmongering forces. The Soviet Union [passage indistinct]

Comparison of Report on Shevardnadze in Afghanistan

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 7 January carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to Afghanistan on 4-6 January. The PRAVDA report, entitled, "Working Visit Concluded," has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian version published in the 7 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 22-23, revealing the following variations:

page 23, column one, paragraph five, line two reads: ...of private entrepreneurs, representatives of Afghanistan's national capital.

The talks and conversations were friendly and open in character and passed off in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete mutual understanding.

A meeting of the aktiv of workers of the USSR Embassy in the Republic of Afghanistan and other Soviet establishments in Kabul was held here today.

E.A. Shevardnadze delivered a report on the course of restructuring in the USSR and on the international situation.

Today, too, E.A. Shevardnadze left Kabul for home.

He was seen off at Kabul's international airport by S.A. Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan and member of the PDPA Central Committee politburo, and by other officials. The send-off party included P.P. Mozhayev, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan.

E.A. Shevardnadze returned to Moscow the same day.

He was met at the airport by L.N. Zaykov, member of the politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU gorkom. The welcoming party included M.A. Khorrami [name as published], Afghan charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR... (rewording, adding passage)

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Owes Chemical Weapon Development to U.S.

LD091456 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 9 Jan 88

["USA Helps South Africa in Developing Chemical Weapons"—TASS headline]

[Text] Accra January 9 TASS—The racist regime of the Republic of South Africa uses chemical weapons, including nerve gases, napalm, and defoliants in aggressive attacks against "Frontline" states and the national liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa.

The GHANAIAN TIMES newspaper writes that Pretoria has handed over large batches of chemical weapons to MNR rebels in Mozambique and to UNITA in Angola. South African advisers train the rebels in handling the weapons.

The newspaper stresses that the regime of apartheid owes the development and stockpiling of its chemical and bacteriological arsenals, to the United States, in the first place. Under the Reagan Administration the South African military got access to some Pentagon and CIA laboratories for the development of chemical weapons.

Thus, on September 5, 1986, Richard Ambrosio, South Africa's leading geneticist, visited the Fort Detrick laboratory which engages in the development of bacteriological weapons as well as gene engineering and its military applications.

The GHANAIAN TIMES writes that American specialists, for their part, became frequent guests in the Republic of South Africa. At an air base near Pretoria, the United States and South Africa jointly work on developing binary shells for the 155 mm howitzers which were supplied to the Republic of South Africa through CIA channels at the end of the 1970s.

The newspaper emphasizes that the greatest danger to Africa is posed by U.S.-South African experiments with ethnic weapons which possess selectivity in killing only people with dark colour of skin. Top secret experiments in this field were started in a naval laboratory at Oakland, California, in the 1970s. The Republic of South Africa has been participating in the programme since 1981 despite the congressional ban on military contacts with Pretoria.

East Europe

Poland's Rakowski Arrives on Official Visit

PM071607 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] M. Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish Sejm deputy speaker, arrived in Moscow 4 January at the invitation of the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

He was met at the airport by A.I. Kamshalov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; R.P. Fedorov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee Department, and other officials.

W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, was also in the welcome party.

Attends Talks at Academy

PM071401 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "A Guest of the Capital"]

[Text] M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish Sejm vice marshal is visiting Moscow at the invitation of the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

On 5 January he had talks at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, the IZVESTIYA editorial office, and the Moscow Sergo Ordzhonikidze Institute of Management.

Visits PRAVDA Office

LD070350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Sejm Deputy Speaker Mieczyslaw Rakowski is visiting the Soviet Union. Today he held talks at the editorial office of the PRAVDA daily, at the Komsomol Central Committee, and in the Soviet Academy of Sciences Economic Department. Mieczyslaw Rakowski also visited the central studio of documentary films.

Polish Consul, Shcherbitskiy Discuss Summit

AU071121 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Dec 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 29 December V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, received R. Polkowski, consul general of the Polish People's Republic in Kiev, at the latter's request.

During the meeting the enormous significance of the results of the meeting between M. S Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and R. Reagan, U. S. President, was emphasized. It was emphasized that these results became possible thanks to the coordinated actions of the socialist countries, including actions to reduce the threat of a nuclear war, to strengthen peace, and to develop mutually beneficial international cooperation.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy briefed the consul general on the progress made in the republic in implementing the decisions of the 27th party congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and in accomplishing the key tasks set for the present stage of restructuring—the democratization of the whole of public life and a cardinal economic reform. R. Polkowski spoke about the socioeconomic changes undertaken in the Polish People's Republic in accordance with the directives of the 10th PZPR Congress, and also spoke about the activity of the consulate general for the development of Polish-Soviet relations. Questions concerning the participation of the Ukrainian SSR in cooperation between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic were discussed.

The conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, and was attended by A.V. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Further on Marchuk Delegation in Poland
PM081457 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report under the rubric: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A jubilee session to mark the 30th anniversary of the signing of the agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet and Polish Academies of Sciences took place yesterday in Warsaw. A delegation of Soviet scientists headed by G.I. Marchuk, USSR Academy of Sciences president, participated.

During the session a ceremony was held to present prominent Polish scientists with awards presented every 3 years for outstanding work conducted jointly by researchers from the USSR and Polish Academies of Sciences.

On the same day W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and Polish Council of State chairman, received the delegation of Soviet scientists headed by G.I. Marchuk. During the meeting progress in implementing the long-term Soviet-Polish comprehensive program for scientific and technical cooperation was assessed positively and further potential for deepening cooperation between the Soviet and Polish Academies of Sciences was indicated.

The experience of Soviet science's participation in the process of restructuring in the USSR and Polish science's participation in the process of economic reforms and socialist renewal in Poland was discussed.

Bulgarian, Greek Leaders Praise INF Treaty
LD091639 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT 9 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia January 9 TASS—TASS correspondent Vasiliy Kononenko reports:

Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, and his Greek counterpart, Karolos Papoulias, who had arrived here for a friendly working visit, had talks during which they gave a high appraisal of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The treaty, the Bulgarian minister pointed out, has been welcomed by the world public with joy and at the same time with hopes for a peaceful future. Bulgaria holds that further vigorous efforts are now essential to consolidate and multiply what was achieved last year. An important role in the cause of bringing international relations back into the channel of detente is being played by the 'Delhi Six' country group, of which Greece is a member. Bulgaria contributes to the common cause of peace through efforts to make the Balkans a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons, and comes out in favour of ecological protection of the peninsula. It actively prepares for the forthcoming Balkan foreign ministers' meeting which is to play a positive role in this direction, the Bulgarian foreign minister emphasized.

The Greek minister of foreign affairs pointed out that the step made last year by the leaders of the two great powers in the name of the world's future gives grounds to regard with hope the forthcoming Balkan foreign ministers' meeting. Greece will make every effort for successful development of multilateral cooperation between the countries of the region and for the strengthening of stability, peace and progress.

Papoulias voiced concern over the continued illegal occupation of Cyprus.

The Bulgarian side stated that Bulgaria's stand on this issue is consistent and invariable. Bulgaria is against any whatsoever one-sided actions undermining the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonaligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. The way to a lasting solution to the problem is indicated by the Soviet Union's proposal to convene an authoritative international conference on Cyprus.

Romanian Debt Repayment Effort Causes 'Tension'
PM080925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Petukhov dispatch under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "Reducing Debts"]

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jan—In late December the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee adopted a decision which attracted attention from many

foreign commentators. It indicated that henceforth Romania will not resort to foreign credits. This decision was approved after the Romanian Grand National Assembly Industrial and Economic and Financial Activity Commission, having examined the question of relations between Romania and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, concluded that the terms on which it had received credit from it had caused the country serious damage.

What happened?

Romania, Western observers note, is one of the few countries which have markedly reduced the size of their foreign debt in the eighties. Thus on the eve of the RCP national conference it was announced that, while at the beginning of the current decade Romania's foreign debt totaled 10 billion dollars, it has now been more than halved and by the end of this 5-year plan the country intends to repay it completely.

Naturally, the purposeful payment of the debt has produced a number of factors of domestic economic tension. Production and nonproduction consumption funds have had to be reduced, and a strict policy of saving material and financial resources has had to be introduced. Measures have been taken to reduce imports and, in particular, dollar imports of consumer goods has virtually been stopped.

The reaction of Western creditors to Romania's attempt to accelerate "at any price" the repayment of the debt has been equivocal. Some reproach Romania for curbing imports of goods from Western countries while simultaneously accelerating its export to them. Others—primarily the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—have sought, allegedly on a legal basis, to increase the credit interest rate. The amount owing on credits taken out by Romania from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development since 1980 has increased, so it turns out, by 50%as a result of the so-called "currency risk" rate arbitrarily established by the bank, which has been, Romanian newspapers wrote, "extortionately high"—up to 11.6%.

Western international financial institutions have frequently tried to foist on Romania their own "prescriptions for recovery in the economy," including the currency and financial system. But all these attempts have clearly only exacerbated relations between Romania and Western creditors. The decision of the recent RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee to completely renounce foreign credits also shows the course for the future chosen by the country. Thanks to increased exports last year, the foreign trade balance was favorable. Further growth in the amount of export output, the resolution says, also ensures the necessary currency expenditure and prompt payment of the foreign debt.

Romania To Participate in Summer Olympics

PM111051 Moscow SOVETSKIY SPORT in Russian 10 Jan 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Romanian National Olympic Committee Decision"]

[Text] Bucharest—The Romanian National Olympic Committee has given a positive reply to the invitation from the International Olympic Committee to take part in the 1988 Summer Olympics.

This decision was made at a National Olympic Committee plenum held in the Romanian capital.

West Europe

Swedish Prime Minister Carlsson Interviewed

PM110900 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Sychev in Stockholm: "Ingvar Carlsson: 'We Seek Stable Ties With the USSR'"—date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Only a few days remain until the start of the official visit to Sweden by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. On the eve of this event A. Sychev, IZVESTIYA's correspondent in Stockholm, met with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson in the government residence of Rosenbad. Here are the prime minister's answer to the questions put to him.

[Sychev] What effect, in your view, will the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have on strategic stability in Europe, and in particular, northern Europe?

[Carlsson] The treaty is historic because the two leading great powers have agreed for the first time on the destruction of an entire category of nuclear weapons. Sweden would like to see the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as the first step along the path leading to further nuclear disarmament in the world.

We welcomed the treaty. Like other states throughout the world, we expect the Soviet Union and the United States to go further, and without too much delay, to achieve an accord on a 50% cut in strategic nuclear arms.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles means the disappearance of missiles with nuclear warheads that have caused anxiety in both Western and Eastern Europe. The U.S. missiles caused concern in the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states, while the Soviet missiles inspired fear in the West European NATO countries. The lessening of fear strengthens peace and stability in Europe. Both the Soviet and the U.S. missiles that will now be destroyed

could be turned against targets in northern Europe. Their elimination is therefore advantageous to the north European states, too. The most important common objective for these countries' security policy is to keep northern Europe as a region with a low level of international tension. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles favors this desire.

[Sychev] What contribution does Sweden intend to make, as a participant in the "Initiative of the Six," to strengthening international stability and resolving regional conflicts, as well as to the continued process of the interaction of disarmament and development?

[Carlsson] The first declaration of the "Group of Six" was elaborated in May 1984. At that time the international situation was complex. Dialogue between the strongest military powers had almost ceased, and no marked steps were foreseen in the disarmament sphere. The heads of state and government of the six countries, wanting to help find a way out of the impasse that appeared to have been reached, put forward an initiative and submitted a concrete proposal on measures aimed at strengthening international security and reducing the risk of nuclear war. Another important reason for adopting the declaration was to emphasize the right of states not possessing nuclear weapons to influence the adoption of decisions on nuclear arms—an instrument of destruction that threatens everyone's security.

Two summit meetings have been held within the framework of the "Initiative of the Six": in Delhi in January 1985, and in Mexico in August 1986. I invited the other five participants in the initiative to a third meeting, to take place in Stockholm 21-22 January. At this session we intend to express our view on the important measures necessary to strengthen international security and start a real disarmament process, which will be a continuation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The "Initiative of the Six" was adopted by heads of state and government representing various regions, cultures, and views. It touches on a vitally important question of our time: guaranteeing mankind's survival. Thus, the initiative is of global significance.

[Sychev] New initiatives have recently been put forward with a view to creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, lessening military activeness here, and extending confidence-building measures in the region. How do you assess progress in this sphere?

[Carlsson] Work to create a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe entered a new phase in 1987 with the formation of a group of representatives of the Nordic countries' governments at a high level.

The idea of nuclear-free zones is, fundamentally, comparatively simple. At the same time, we realize that it should take into account the basic provisions of the security policy of each of the north European states. The task of the group of representatives is to clarify the five governments' positions on this question and draw up proposals to implement the idea of establishing a nuclear-free zone.

The joint activity of north European states on this matter in itself shows the whole world that the preservation of nuclear-free status, as well as measures to restrict the presence of nuclear weapons near our region, is in our common interest.

The question of a nuclear-free zone is above all a matter for the north European states. First of all, a consensus must exist between them as to the need for a zone. Then this group of countries should elaborate a united position. After that the question could be submitted for discussion with the participation of all interested states. Within the framework of the work being done by the north European countries, naturally, we will seek to respect each state's right autonomously to decide what policy best meets its national interests.

[Sychev] What does Sweden intend to do to promote closer cooperation between the states of the north European region in exploiting the resources of the north, of the Arctic, and to coordinate their efforts in the sphere of environmental conservation?

[Carlsson] Cooperation in the sphere of environmental conservation and scientific research in the north is of tremendous interest to Sweden. The Arctic is an ecologically sensitive region, and we must channel all our efforts into creating reliable environmental protection here.

Several conventions on ecological conservation of the seas do not apply to the Arctic Ocean. We intend to help strengthen the guard against pollution of that region.

We advocate the development of cooperation in Arctic research. We regard the idea of setting up a committee for Arctic research as attractive. Swedish scientists therefore propose to convene a meeting at which this question will be studied and plan to hold it in Stockholm in the spring. We hope that Soviet scientists will take part. In this sphere, in my opinion, there are good opportunities for broad, intensive Swedish-Soviet ties.

As for the exploitation of the north's natural resources, this problem is also of interest, but it is more complex. I wish to say that in the Swedish-Soviet joint commission we have discussed Sweden's participation in the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the Kola Peninsula. There is a positive interest on a commercial basis in continuing work on the proposals put forward by the Soviet side on this question.

[Sychev] What new features, in your view, have emerged in Soviet-Swedish relations? What prospects do you see for the development of trade and economic cooperation between our countries?

[Carlsson] We seek, as I have stressed repeatedly, good and stable ties with the Soviet Union. Therefore, a profound, frank dialogue on important matters is of mutual interest.

Contacts between our states and governments give us the opportunity to explain to the Soviet Union, as we do with other states, our views on questions we consider important. The Soviet Union can have no doubt of Sweden's determination to adhere strictly to a policy of freedom from alliances and in all circumstances, including peacetime, to defend its territory.

We must take into account that we do not hold identical views on all questions. However, the two sides must have a common opinion as regards the important principles on which our mutual relations are based.

It gives us satisfaction that significant steps have been taken in discussing questions which we in Sweden consider important. Cases where members of Soviet-Swedish families are forced to live apart are increasingly rare. We have also come closer together on that complex question, the delimitation of economic zones in the Baltic Sea. Allow me to express the hope that this development will continue.

Soviet-Swedish dialogue has extended to new spheres. I am confident that the agreement on questions of the safe operation of nuclear power stations, which we plan to sign during the visit to Sweden by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will be greeted with satisfaction both in our country and in the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, the fall in our exports to the Soviet Union has continued. This fall is a reflection of the general decline in Soviet imports from Western countries. The reason for this was the fall in crude oil prices on the world market, which led to a reduction in income from Soviet exports in trade with Western states.

The volume of Sweden's imports from the Soviet Union, in turn, has also fallen by 37% in 1986 compared with the preceding period. It is encouraging that in the first 6 months of last year, we observed a growth in imports. Many factors indicate that we can look to the future with optimism.

Swedish companies are conducting talks with their Soviet partners on many important projects, including some in the agro-industrial sphere. The new forms of cooperation being discussed could promote the expansion of trade turnover. Restructuring of the Soviet economy and foreign trade activity could, as a result, lead to increased competitiveness for Soviet export goods even in modern spheres of production.

[Sychev] You took the baton from Olof Palme. What, in your view, is his most valuable legacy?

[Carlsson] Olof Palme and I belong to the same generation. We reached political awareness by rather different paths: For him, it was a response to injustices he saw during trips abroad, whereas I saw and experienced them in Sweden itself in the forties. We both decided to devote ourselves to political activity in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party.

O. Palme was the personification of indomitable optimism. Everything was possible; the impossible did not exist. Even a small country like Sweden could take part in the processes of influencing the great powers, help prevent wars, promote nuclear disarmament, and mediate in acute conflicts. It is this optimism that I would like to carry further.

Ryzhkov Departs on Visit to Sweden, Norway

LD110756 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, left Moscow for Stockholm today to pay an official visit to Sweden at the invitation of its government. He is also to pay an official visit to Norway at the invitation of the government of that country.

At Vnukovo Airport he was seen off by Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU Lev Zaykov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Talyzin, and other officials.

Greeted by Swedish Officials

LD111004 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Stockholm today at the invitation of the Swedish Government of Sweden. At Arlanda International Airport, the eminent Soviet visitor was met by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, Industry Minister Thage Peterson, Foreign Trade Minister Anita Gradin, Energy and Environment Minister Birgitta Dahl, Agriculture Minister Mats Helstrom, and other officials. Also among the people meeting Ryzhkov were Pankin, the USSR ambassador in Sweden, and personnel from Soviet institutions in that country. An honor guard was drawn up at the meeting. A band played the state anthems of the two countries.

Meets With Swedish King

LD111144 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 88

[Text] Nikilay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Stockholm today on an official visit at the invitation of the Swedish Government.

At Arlanda International Airport, which was bedecked with the state flags of the Soviet Union and Sweden, the high Soviet guest was met by Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and other officials.

A guard of honor was drawn up and a band played the national anthems of the two countries.

On the first day of his stay in Stockholm, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov met with the king and the management of the PK [Post and Credit] Bank.

Shevardnadze To Visit West Germany in Mid-January
PM061547 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On E.A. Shevardnadze's Visit to the FRG"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, will make an official visit to the FRG in mid-January 1988 at the invitation of the FRG Government.

To Visit Spain in January
LD072021 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow 7 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, will pay an official visit to Spain during the second half of January at the invitation of the Spanish Government.

NATO 'Not Ready for' Dialogue With Soviets
LD101357 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1037 GMT 10 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—The USSR and its allies, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes today, are insistently inviting the NATO countries to a fruitful dialogue. Our partners are evidently not ready for it, however. At times, more over, their reaction to our proposals creates the impression that it is coming from figures who simply refuse to understand what is being talked about. In reply, as it were, to the proposal that armed forces should be reduced to a level that would not allow either side to carry out offensive actions, from Paris they are stubbornly reiterating that in the event of an attack on the FRG, "direct and unconditional interference" will be ensured by France. One would like to ask what kind of attack this will be.

The explanation for the false alarm, the army newspaper goes on, should evidently be sought elsewhere. Of late, the idea of consolidating Franco-West German cooperation is insistently being thrust upon one. This is purportedly being done to counteract the "split" in Atlantic union. What can one say about that? First, this is not the first decade now that the "split" in NATO is being used as a decoy. Second, the formulation of the question on strengthening military cooperation and on increasing NATO's military might is hardly likely to correspond to the spirit of the time, when questions of the elimination of nuclear arsenals, of a radical reduction in conventional weapons and armed forces are on the agenda.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Addresses Central Committee Meeting

LD081918 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] A meeting was held today in the CPSU Central Committee with leaders of the media, ideology establishments, and creative unions. It examined questions of ideological, political, and information-propaganda work at the present phase of restructuring. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the meeting. There was a broad exchange of views in which the following took part: Comrades Alekseyev, editor-in-chief of MOSKVA magazine; Korotich, editor-in-chief of OGONEK magazine; Zalygin, editor-in-chief of NOVIY MIR magazine; Baklanov, editor-in-chief of ZNAMYA magazine; Lavrov, chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers; Laptev, editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA; Fedoseyev, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Chikin, editor-in-chief of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA; Falin, chairman of the NOVOSTI Press Agency board; Afanasyev, editor-in-chief of PRAVDA; Klimov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Cinematographers; Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, printing plants, and the book trade; and Karpov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Writers Union.

It was noted that under present conditions, particular significance is acquired by practical action in implementing the concept of restructuring, a constructive attitude to the experience emerging, and the general distribution of the latter. The mass media and propaganda bodies are called upon to actively promote the consolidation of new attitudes in the economy and in the social and spiritual spheres. Stress was laid upon the urgent necessity for still further developing democracy, glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, and a creative approach to work.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev summed up the discussions. Taking part in the meeting were Comrades Zaykov, Ligachev, Slyunkov, Dolgikh, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, and Kapitonov. A detailed report is to be published.

Gorbachev, Ligachev Attend Moscow Concert

LD082122 Moscow TASS in English 2038 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—A concert of Yevgeniy Nesterenko, a prominent Soviet singer, has been held at the USSR Bolshoy theatre today. The singer, who is fifty years old today, performed his favourite arias from operas, Russian folk songs and romances. He for the first time appeared on the stage as Hero of Socialist Labour. The singer was conferred this honorary title for the great services performed in the development of Soviet music arts.

The concert was attended by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and wife, Yegor Ligachev, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and wife.

On Yevgeniy Nesterenko's repertoire are more than one hundred most difficult operatic arias. He successfully sang in more than 20 countries, at Milan's La Scala theatre, London's Covent Garden and the Vienna Opera.

Politburo Meets 7 Jan; Criticizes Kiev Gorkom

LD072030 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a report, in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo at a session held on 7 January, heard a report on the work of the Kiev city party organization in carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. An analysis of the work of this large urban party organization has made it possible to elucidate many important phenomena and tendencies which are emerging in the conditions of restructuring. It is from the positions of the requirements of restructuring that it is important to approach the assessment of the work of any party organization.

It was noted at the session that positive changes are taking place in the work of the Kiev party organization. It is carrying out many-sided work on implementing the decisions of the congress and of the subsequent plena of the Central Committee, and of the course toward restructuring and socioeconomic acceleration upon which the party has embarked. Glasnost is being widened in the party organizations and labor kollektivs, and the democratic elements in economic management and in the selection and deployment of cadres are being established. The city economy is developing, and many of its qualitative indices are being improved.

At the same time, it was noted that in the initial stage of restructuring, the Kiev party organization had lost time and failed to put its work into effect in the proper manner. Restructuring has not yet penetrated deeply into the life of the primary party organizations and labor kollektivs. In the work of the party gorkom and raykoms, and of many of the primary party organizations, there is still sluggishness; they have not rid themselves entirely of formalism and obsolete style and methods of work. By no means have all cadres renounced their mood of complacency and vigorously set about removing the accretions of the past. The ideological and organizational foundation of restructuring has been insufficiently developed. Many party cadres have an incorrect attitude to criticism and have eased off in the struggle against drunkenness.

Serious shortcomings remain in the work of the local soviet bodies in solving social problems. The city is being slow about increasing the rate of housing construction and the building of schools, hospitals, shops, and other amenities. The party and economic bodies have not ensured the thorough preparation, in good time, of all enterprises for the transition to full financial autonomy and self-financing. The attention of the economic cadres and labor kollektivs is not being concentrated sufficiently on questions of intensification, of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, and of maximal utilization of reserves for enhancing the efficiency of production.

The Politburo made it incumbent upon the Kiev gorkom and raykoms of the party and the primary party organizations to radically improve their political and organizational work in implementing the decisions of the 27th party congress and of the plena of the CPSU Central Committee and to move restructuring tirelessly forward. It was stressed that the attention and energies of party, local soviet, and economic bodies and trade union and komsomol organizations should be concentrated on the key problems which determine the destiny of the restructuring: improving people's well-being, democratizing public life, and effecting a radical economic reform.

The Politburo examined and approved proposals by the USSR Council of Ministers on the radical restructuring of environmental conservation in the country. These proposals were drawn up with the active participation of central and local administrative bodies and leading scientists and specialists, taking into account the opinions of broad circles of the public. A package of measures has been charted, aimed at improving the state of the environment and the utilization of natural resources, at creating a more healthy ecological situation, and at preserving unique natural complexes. In the aim of implementing a unified environmental conservation policy, it is envisaged that the necessary coordination in the activities of various ministries, departments, organizations, and enterprises be carried out.

In the coming years it is planned to effect a transition in the management of environmental conservation from administrative methods to primarily economic methods. Support was given to the public's proposals for the preparation of a draft USSR law on environmental conservation and the creation of a union of environmental conservation societies in the country.

At the Politburo meeting the main political results of the 42d UN General Assembly were examined. It was stressed that the work of the session reflected the process of renewal of international life which has now begun. The conviction was expressed that the General Assembly's adoption, at the initiative of the socialist countries, of a decision in favor of setting up a comprehensive system of peace and security, opens up new opportunities for progress in that area on the basis of finding a balance of interests between the UN member states and of developing relations of trust and cooperation between them. The work of the USSR delegation at the session was approved.

There was an examination of, and approval was given to, proposals for deepening contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the parliaments of the socialist countries in the aim of a mutually-useful exchange of experience gained in developing socialist democracy, in consolidating links with the voters, and in ensuring the fullest possible implementation of citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

The Politburo approved the results of the meeting of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with the general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal. It was noted with satisfaction that the talks which were held have once again confirmed the unity of views of the two parties on the vital problems of international life and of the struggle of the peoples for social progress and national independence. The desire was expressed to continue to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the Portuguese Communist Party and to promote the development of mutually beneficial Soviet-Portuguese relations.

The Politburo approved the results of the meeting of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with Strauss, the prime minister of Bavaria and chairman of the FRG Christian-Social Union. The importance was noted of building up a constructive political dialogue between the USSR and the FRG of and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries in the economic, scientific-technical, and cultural fields, which promotes the strengthening of trust on the continent of Europe as a whole.

The results of the visits of Comrade Chebrikov to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and to the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and his meetings and talks with Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and with Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, and other Vietnamese and Lao leaders were examined. The importance was stressed of further strengthening friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam and Laos, and between the CPSU and the fraternal parties of those countries. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo also discussed a number of other questions of the internal life of the country, and of the foreign-policy activity of the Communist party and of the Soviet state.

Ligachev Warns Against 'One-Sided' View of Past

PM081231 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Bringing the Reform of Secondary and Higher Education Into Line With the Restructuring Policy"]

[Text] In connection with the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on matters to do with the reform of general, vocational, and higher education a joint session of the USSR Ministry of Education, State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education collegiums has been held at the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

The session was addressed by V.A. Severtsev, chief of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education State VUZ Inspectorate; M.I. Zhuravleva, USSR deputy minister of education; L.I. Shvetsova, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; V.I. Kuptsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education Main Administration for the Teaching of Social Sciences; V.I. Konkin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education; S.A. Piskunov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Education Main Administration for General Secondary Education; Ye.V. Kashin, chief of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education Economic Planning Administration; L.M. Tereshenko, chief of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education Main Administration for VUZ Production and Technical Facilities; V.T. Petrov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Education cadre administration; S.N. Glazachev, USSR deputy minister of education, and other comrades. There was a discussion of the main ways and means of improving the content, structure, and organization of people's education and improvement of the management of this sphere of social life and its thorough democratization.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made the closing speech at the conference. He stressed that the new year is a special one, when all the ideas of restructuring will be verified in practice, when everyone will be required to show special perseverance, principle, and persistence in carrying out all the projects, but, at the same time, caution and sober calculation, in the best sense of the term. As well as the democratization of society's life and the radical economic reform, there must be an accelerating restructuring of the people's education system and of the education of the masses. There will have to be some substantial change in the educational reform to bring it in line as far as possible with the restructuring policy. There is a need to fundamentally strengthen general educational training in the people's education system and on that basis develop the training of worker cadres and also specialist cadres with secondary and higher education. The democratic principles of the management of people's education have to be substantially broadened.

The practice of certifying VUZ's, started by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, met with support. It is a correct policy and it should lead to an improvement in VUZ's' work and the strengthening of their leadership and material and technical base. It was noted that students' independent work must be better organized and this important matter given some direction. There was a critical appraisal of the widespread practice of over-involvement of young students in economic work during study time. Questions of self-management in VUZ's, schools, and vocational and technical colleges were also touched on. The switch to self-management is an exceedingly important task and all working people in ministries and educational establishments' party and Komsomol organizations must concentrate on tackling it.

A wide range of questions arose in connection with the spiritual, moral, and aesthetic education of schoolchildren and students. We are living at a crucial time. The process of democratization of social life is developing swiftly. The party has determined new approaches to the interpretation of the content of a number of key moments in our history. So additional opportunities have been created for intensifying young people's history education. To ensure that this powerful means of molding the individual is as effective as possible it is necessary to use it responsibly and skillfully and prevent any one-sided assessments of particular historical phenomena. Education should be based on the whole truth in all its dialectical contradictions. Of course, one must not ignore the failures and calamities. But if one focuses only on them and ignores the Soviet people's real and genuinely great social, cultural, and economic gains achieved under the party's leadership, it will be impossible to educate strong-minded people with a highly developed sense of their own, native country and their own social system. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report on the 70th anniversary of Great October is a sure guide to history education. Everyone working in the sphere of youth education must always have it in mind and check his conclusions and assessments against it. The historical continuity of different generations of Soviet society should be comprehensively strengthened. This is the purpose of all educational work with young people.

The speech mentioned the acute need to reequip all components of the people's education system. It is a big and complex task, but the future of secondary and higher education depends on its solution.

Comrade Ye.K. Ligachev stressed that there must be a radical change in society's attitude to the education system. A close examination by local soviet and party bodies of the problems of schools, technical colleges, vocational and technical schools, and VUZ's, the granting of broad rights and powers in the choice of ways and means of attaining the set goals, and the involvement of all our cadres and parents in school affairs are a necessary condition of the attainment of new standards in people's education. Central departments have an important part to play in all this. They must step up their work, coordinate their activity more closely, and act more consistently and decisively, that is, as our times require.

V.A. Grigoryev, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, attended the session.

Zaykov Exhorts Zelenograd Computer Builders
PM081119 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
20 Dec 87 pp 1,2

[MOSTASS report: "To Be in the Vanguard of Creative Work"]

[Excerpts] In conformity with the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum resolution, party committee plenums and Communists' meetings are being held in the country, discussing in an atmosphere of businesslike frankness, glasnost, and constructive criticism and self-criticism reports by elected organs and their secretaries on the leadership of restructuring. Their purpose is to review the activity of party organizations since the 27th CPSU Congress and to become an important stage of preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

These were the tasks which determined the nature of the conversation held 19 December at the Zelenogradskiy party raykom plenum. The scale of the questions which Zelenograd's party organization has to solve as regards the mobilization of scientists, specialists, and all working people for the accelerated buildup of the electronic industry's potential is determined by the role played by a sector which determines the level of scientific and technical progress in the national economy. [passage omitted]

The plenum was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow party gorkom. He noted that the party Central Committee attaches great political importance to these reports. This stems from the need to boost the pace of restructuring in all links and at all levels and make up the lag by a number of party committees behind the dynamic development of society.

The report and the statements by plenum participants produced an exacting assessment of the party raykom bureau's work and of the raykom members' activity, he noted.

Of course, not all statements were identical, but we are still finding it difficult to give up self-praise and bland expressions and slogans. But the majority of comrades did speak about the work in hand and made constructive proposals aimed at its improvement.

The course adopted by the party at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum as the main criterion for evaluating the activity of any party organ and any collective implies above all real changes for the better and tangible positive results in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres.

Turning to your party organization, it can be said that Zelenograd's Communists and all its working people have managed to augment their work and have started to act more energetically and more vigorously along all avenues. There is another conclusion that can be drawn in the wake of visits to enterprises and meetings and conversations with collectives: The situation is noticeably changing for the better. People, as the saying goes, are flexing their muscles and talking openly about what worries them and what hampers their life and labor, not displaying any malicious glee over shortcomings but seeking and suggesting specific and effective ways to overcome them.

This, comrades, is the main point today. These processes must be energetically supported.

We have entered a new and even more complex stage of restructuring. Its substance is determined by two factors—the further democratization of the whole of social life and the implementation of radical economic reform. It is no accident that plenum participants focused their attention on these two topics.

I would like to dwell on a number of fundamental aspects. Your town's life and the activity of party organizations are subordinated to the solution of a most important national economic task—the accelerated development of the scientific and industrial base of the country's microelectronic industry. The sector's brain center is located essentially here, in Zelenograd.

The achievements of Zelenograd's people are well known in the country. The "Nauchnyy Tsentr" Association has made a substantial contribution to the development of Soviet computers, including the "Elbrus" supercomputers. A considerable proportion of the sector's manufacturing facilities for integrated circuits, onboard computers for the Mir space station, and mini- and microcomputers for various purposes is concentrated here. Major credit is due to the work done to sharply boost the volume of in-house machine building and the production of high-precision technological equipment.

It seemed, therefore, somewhat strange that the report failed to properly reflect what we deem to be the most important question of the party raykom's collaboration with economic leaders and party committees at electronic industry enterprises. Because it is these relations that will largely determine the course of restructuring in Zelenograd.

The style of party administration by decree which still prevails is out of step with the demands of the time. It is only right that many speakers drew attention to this.

A spirit of lofty demandingness and individual responsibility for work assigned are organic characteristics of restructuring. It is, of course, only right that the report adopted a sharply critical and self-critical tone.

But, comrades, restructuring primarily means creative work. Today, more than ever before, we need to gather advanced experience literally grain by grain and make it our collective property.

Restructuring is accomplished by people, and it is a great pleasure for me to name a few who, I believe, are well known to you. People like operator Anatoliy Ivanovich Pakhomkin, who met his personal target for the first 2 and 1/2 years of the 5-year plan period in honor of the Great October 70th anniversary. People like welder Aleksandra Mikhaylovna Klevalina, who has just been awarded the title ""Best Worker in the Sector." People like engineer Nikolay Mikhaylovich Sinodkin, who won a Lenin Prize this year. These people earned their distinguished titles honestly, through hard work, with their talents. These titles were awarded not in honor of the jubilee but in recognition of particularly weighty contributions to the common cause.

Now, as we face tasks which are vast in scale and importance, the experience of front-rankers and the reliance of all collectives on this experience are our guarantees of success.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Politburo attach exceptionally great importance to the swifter development of the Soviet electronics industry. M.S. Gorbachev visited Zelenograd in July this year. A far-reaching discussion of problems concerning the sector's development with electronics industry leaders and specialists took place at the scientific center.

A number of tasks of fundamental importance were set. The first is to accelerate the application of electronics in the national economy, which in turn demands manifold growth of the output of electronic technology products. Suffice it to say that, whereas this year Zelenograd manufactured around 17,000 personal computers by a great exertion of efforts, by 1990 the country's output of such equipment ought to reach 500,000 items.

Why are we banking on such tremendous growth? Simply because we are very seriously behind the world standards for the use of electronics. This cannot be tolerated. The task has been set of achieving a 25% utilization of electronics in the national economy by the end of the 5-year plan period.

In order to achieve these goals we need to effect a breakthrough along the most important and most advanced avenues of scientific and technical progress, primarily in computers, microelectronics, and communications technology which are commonly described by the general term "electronicization." For this purpose it is necessary to sharply boost the development of electronics industry capacities. Special priority must be guaranteed for the construction of electronics industry projects. It is also necessary to achieve a manifold increase in the volume of electronic machine building output, whose products are needed for the fast retooling of production.

This applies especially to microelectronics, which needs special materials, equipment, production premises that are unique in terms of cleanliness requirements and much else, in order to scale new technological heights.

The party Central Committee and the government have planned a package of measures for the electronics industry's accelerated development. Much work lies ahead. The electronics industry's scientific and production potential has to be virtually doubled. Part of this program involves the construction of an information technology and electronics center near Zelenograd. It will provide the base for setting up an international center for these questions (Inter EVM). It will pool the efforts of socialist community countries on the joint utilization of scientific and technological achievements. Unconditional backing for these truly revolutionary tasks must be the basis of activity for the party raykom and all Communists in Zelenograd—subject, of course, to active support from the ministries.

The party is now posing the question without any ambiguity: Success will be achieved only provided we achieve real participation by the masses in the management of society and the solution of all questions, right up to questions on a statewide scale.

This is also the aim of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which comes into force 1 January.

But are there grounds for concluding that you are fully prepared to work and live in the conditions created by this law's effect? I do not think so. Work in many enterprises has boiled down to nothing more than electing labor collective councils.

Once again, we perceive the effect of stereotyped thinking: The more labor collective councils we have, it is said, the more democracy we will have. In the first place, however, the setting up of these councils is not a goal in itself.

The most important point is to ensure that they become a truly effective working organ of every collective in the struggle for the fundamental restructuring of economic activity, for the intensification of production, and for the enhancement of production quality standards.

How is this to be achieved? Primarily by giving the councils the actual power and rights envisaged by the Law on the Enterprise. The councils are not consultative organs under the leaders of production. That is not the purpose of creating them.

Ultimately, every enterprise has services and specialists whose duties include the tasks of raising the technical standards of production and output quality, reducing prime costs, improving the structure of management, and creating proper working and living conditions. There are also party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations whose duty it is to monitor and influence economic activity.

The task of labor collective councils is not to supplant economic managers or tackle revisions of production plans, but primarily to involve the broad masses of working people in the management of enterprises.

The voice of the working class must be constantly heard in all leadership offices. This is how genuine people's power ought to be implemented, making each and every one feel master of his work, wholly and fully responsible for high end results. Without this, by the way, it will be impossible to achieve either economic accountability [khozraschet] within the production unit or full economic accountability.

Here, whether we want to or not, literally everyone must acquire new economic thinking. People must be taught this thinking, it must be cultivated. This is also one of the most topical tasks of party organizations and, of course, labor collective councils.

There are frequent instances when not only workers but even foremen—mid-level leaders—have only a vague impression of what actually affects the prime costs of production, for example, and consequently the profitability of production, and how. Have a good look in shops, sections, and individual work places—how many additional unutilized reserves will be discovered, which must be resolutely made to serve the cause. Production workers themselves know better than anyone else how to do this.

Take the problem of two-shift working, for example. The shift index here stands at 1.6—higher than at many other enterprises in Moscow. But even this is no longer sufficient. We are urging two-shift working not for its own sake, nor for the sake of simply forcing people to work in the evening or in the night.

There is no room for trivia in the radical economic reform: It must not be limited to the replacement of individual machine tools or units; it is necessary to resolutely embark on a comprehensive automation of production and utilization of equipment which will not just boost labor productivity by a few percentage points but increase it several times over.

You can look at your own examples. The "Nauchnyy Tsentr" Association has created the country's largest flexible production system in the machine shop, fitted with Soviet-made machine tools, robots, and automated storage facilities. The shift index of equipment operations in that shop is 2.8, all costs are recoupable within 2 years, and production output has more than doubled.

This is the only way we will manage to achieve significant output growth without increasing the numerical strength of the workforce.

Let us also look at the task of observing contract delivery discipline. This topic was raised today both in the report and in several speeches. This means that it is pressing. Why is this question raised so urgently?

First: Contract discipline is the foundation, the basis of economic reform. Profits and all other indicators are based on it.

Second: We do not need any pursuit of "gross amounts." The time of the "gross approach" has gone, never to return. We need actual and totally specific output. This type, and no other type of output. There cannot and there must not be any substitutions.

What is the situation regarding contract discipline here? In the first 11 months of this year, a number of enterprises failed to fulfill their contract delivery plans for integrated circuits. It is already clear that the state of affairs as regards deliveries will not be successfully corrected before year's end. This will cost the country hundreds of millions of lost rubles. Unreliability is impermissible in the switch to economic accountability.

There is yet another most important link to this chain—quality. State acceptance is operational at only one of your enterprises so far. It will be joined by a further two in the new year. Essentially, you have yet to feel the full effect of the difficulties which have to be experienced in conditions of rigid quality control.

Judging by the way some enterprises are working (and this was, incidentally, also mentioned in the speeches), preparations for the transfer to state acceptance are far from complete. In the current year alone, guarantee claims have been received in respect of more than 11,000 articles produced by Zelenograd enterprises and losses are running into millions of rubles. What economy can bear all these fines and losses to eliminate substandard production? This could even lead to bankruptcy.

Even with the latest technology and the best possible labor organization, people are still the agents and creators of quality. It is no accident that the party singles out the human factor as one of the main components of restructuring.

Individual work standards are needed in production today more than ever before. This broad term includes conscientiousness, discipline, and work aesthetics.

It is only human that everyone should feel bitter and annoyed by warped doors and peeling wallpaper in new apartments, permanently dripping faucets, and dirty buses that are almost falling apart. And how many complaints have been made about the quality of repair work by consumer services? Yet, it is specific people who are responsible for all these outrages. It was some specific individual who failed to tighten the washer properly, who drove in a nail instead of a screw.

None of these questions is trivial. They must be at the focus of party attention, especially now that the country is preparing for broad transfer to economic accountability.

Many of Zelenograd's collectives are still in serious financial difficulty. Profits plans are not fulfilled, there are delays in making payments. There are still other unsolved problems of a technical and economic nature.

The radical economic reform teaches us that we should earn our own money, but the correct application of earnings is an equally important science. We must not allow a repetition of past mistakes, when many labor collectives were unable to utilize their own funds to develop production and the social sphere: Construction industry workers lacked the capacity, material resources were in short supply, and consequently people lost faith in the feasibility of the set goal. This always happens whenever words diverge from deeds. The party will not allow anyone to let this happen.

Meanwhile, the potential of Zelenograd's construction industry organizations is no longer sufficient to meet demand. You will, of course, receive help. The capacities of the "Zelenogradstroy" Construction and Installation Association must at least double. The own-resources method of construction must be much more actively developed, especially for the reconstruction of enterprises. Broader use must be made of this method in housing construction too.

For a long time now Zelenogradskiy has been Moscow's prestige rayon. There was rapid growth of the electronics industry here, accompanied by fast construction of housing and social sphere projects. Specialists were attracted by the interesting work and the good social and consumer services conditions.

Even now you are doing much to improve the residents' life. Mention must be made of the remarkable successes in computerizing school teaching and organizing work on the vocational guidance of children. It is only right that you are using your own resources to reconstruct supermarkets and are building bakeries—small but very useful for the town—and much else.

At the same time, however, many unresolved questions and problems have accumulated, especially in the work of municipal services.

Some 22,000 persons are on the waiting list for improved housing conditions. The volume of housing construction planned for the 12th 5-Year Plan period will prevent any substantial reduction of this number.

In order to solve the task set by the party—to ensure an apartment or separate home for every family by the year 2000—it is necessary to commission several times more total housing area than at present exists in the town, beginning in 1989. Only around 35,000 [units not specified] will have been built in 1987. You can see what tremendous growth has to be achieved.

There are many shortcomings in the work of enterprises in the public catering, trade, and consumer services spheres. The development of health care and cultural institutions is lagging. The number of hospital beds available to Zelenograd's residents is barely one-half of the average for Moscow, where medical services are also in a state of neglect and where major measures are being taken to correct the situation.

Questions concerning the utilization of the heat and water supply network have become extremely acute, and there is a pressing need for the network's complete reconstruction. Last winter microrayons and industrial enterprises were often without heat for one simple reason—the worn-out condition of the heat supply network. The discussions were, to put it bluntly, heated despite the freezing conditions. Honestly speaking, this proved to me yet again that we do have some very patient people.

What were the questions they raised? The most elementary questions of daily life which could have and should have been resolved long ago by the town authorities. In actual fact, surely no one needs any more instructions "from the top" to open a consumer cooperative store in Zelenograd, or even consumer cooperative departments in supermarkets? It is surely not all that complex a matter to set up skating rinks for children, to equip sports grounds, or even to build swimming pools at schools, given the existence of such major enterprises? Are the "town fathers" not ashamed that for 15(!) years now they have been building a Young Pioneers' center which is nowhere near completion?

You have recently discovered some interesting forms for the expansion of glasnost. But they are still not systematic enough and, as we can see, are not yet producing the desired results. The town residents raise many questions, evidently because town ispolkom leaders hardly ever meet people, hardly ever inform the population of how social and consumer services problems are being solved, and are afraid to tell the truth about difficulties and the shortcomings in their own work.

This is happening because the ispolkom still applies the old methods of work, relies mainly on the apparat alone, and does not involve the town soviet deputies in its work

with the population. Yet, Zelenograd was quite recently held out as example in the organization of education and leisure at places of residence.

A few days ago the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau examined a draft comprehensive plan for the restructuring of work among the population. A major program of action along this avenue has been planned. In restructuring your work with the population, you must make more active use of the experience developed in other Moscow rayons.

I think that party raykom bureau member Yu.A. Kvitko and other town leaders must bear in mind that their mandate of trust is not permanent. I believe that it would be correct for the party raykom bureau to promptly examine the town ispolkom's work.

It is well known that work is now under way to elaborate a draft unified general plan for the development of Moscow and Moscow Oblast. This document will interlink the interests of the capital and of Moscow region as a single economic complex.

Each rayon must have similar plans, because the general plan for Moscow and the oblast must be developed on the basis of all rayon plans. You have elaborated and are implementing several comprehensive-targeted programs along various avenues. But everything in the national economy is interlinked. The social sphere cannot develop without economic growth, while economic successes are determined by the conditions in which people live and work, how they travel to their place of work, and how they are served.

There must also be a uniform approach when mapping out the ways to solve pressing problems of economic and social development. Zelenograd's rayon organizations have undertaken much, but most questions have simply not been fully resolved.

A comprehensive intensification program would make it possible to interlink territorial and sectoral interests. The Zelenogradskiy party raykom could set an example of imagination and initiative here by heading the work of elaborating such a program. You do have all the conditions for this.

It is equally important for us to have automated management systems for municipal services in Moscow's rayons, to be later unified within a single automated management system under the Moscow City Soviet. This will give an opportunity to effectively monitor and control the situation and will involve fewer costs when solving the multiplicity of questions concerning the reliable utilization, repair, and development of the social sphere. You, who work in the electronics industry town, are quite capable of tackling this task.

No matter what problem we examine today—be it scientific and technical progress, young people's education, or work at places of residence—there is only one conclusion to be drawn: The new work of restructuring cannot be accomplished using the old methods and standard approaches.

Hence another conclusion: Restructuring needs competent people, well versed in questions of work organization and economics. No creative work is possible without profound knowledge. Enterprising and truly efficient work is possible only when leaders are thoroughly familiar with real life, understand its problems, have an understanding and warm attitude to people, sense the dynamics, and perceive the prospects.

It is evident that much here depends on the party staff: the dynamism of restructuring, economic work, the expansion of glasnost, and the development of democratization processes. Those in whom Communists have placed their trust to work on this staff must be distinguished by high responsibility, principle, implacability toward shortcomings, and an acute sense of duty to people.

I would like to urge Comrade V.A. Savelyev and the other raykom secretaries and bureau members to constantly cultivate these inner qualities. This is the only way to become proper and respected leaders of restructuring.

Judging by today's conversation, however, the raykom bureau has yet to become a cohesive collective of people of like mind. Moreover, one-half of the bureau members have no specific assignments. More constructive and purposeful work is needed to provide organizational, ideological, and moral backup at the new and most important stage of work.

Primary party organizations have a decisive role to play in overcoming inertia and demolishing the braking mechanism. Their task is not to give way to conservative leaders, not to tolerate instances of management by administrative edict, and to combat backward attitudes within collectives.

By the way, the party raykom must be careful to ensure that the system of party organizations' work meets today's demands. It is necessary to adopt a bolder approach to the creation of unified party organizations at Zelenograd's science and production collectives.

The Central Committee has adopted a resolution "On Restructuring the System of Working People's Political and Economic Education." It places major emphasis on the organization of universal economic education.

We cannot allow this important work to become, as happened in the past, a matter of formality and superficial approach, a matter of reciting truisms. We are talking about something quite specific: ensuring that

everyone, from worker to director, understands his role in the achievement of high end results and is capable of calculating his benefits from good work and his losses from bad work.

Everything that is happening in the country today, the speaker went on to say, is inseparable from our foreign policy line. This line is perfectly clear—creating lasting peace without the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

The first practical step in this direction has been taken—a treaty on the elimination of an entire class of nuclear arms has been signed by the USSR and the United States.

In his 14 December Soviet television speech M.S. Gorbachev spoke in detail about the difficult path that led to this historic landmark. The difficult path to this agreement proved that nothing can be achieved without a struggle, that it is necessary to seek out even the slightest chance to break the trend toward a growing military threat.

We realize that the U.S. military-industrial machine continues to function, that only a tiny proportion of existing arms stockpiles will be reduced. But the importance of the treaty that was signed is not determined only by its quantitative aspect.

The conclusion of the treaty marked a reduction of the war danger and helps to establish trust as an inalienable component of relations between states, primarily between the USSR and the United States. A start has been made in the fulfillment of the program for complete elimination of nuclear arms in the world, proclaimed in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's 15 January 1986 statement.

The limitation of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, as one of the destabilizing military factors in Europe, will make it possible to continue the process of arms reductions on the continent. It will make it possible to render relations between the opposed military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact more predictable and safer.

Mutual accord has been reached on inspections of plants which produced launchers for both cruise and ballistic missiles, as well as of all missile bases and arsenals of missiles liable to destruction, personnel training locations, and missile destruction locations.

Talks have now started on the limitation and ultimate termination of nuclear tests. The Soviet Union has put forward a number of bold initiatives, making it possible to improve verification and mutual trust in this complex issue. We allowed Americans to visit our nuclear test range. They reciprocated. Experiments are also under way for the purpose of determining the technical potential of verification means.

Despite all this, it must not be forgotten that the Americans are engaged on large-scale and generously financed work on the Strategic Defense Initiative. It cannot be ruled out that this work could pave the way for new types of arms. We must always be prepared for the unexpected.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary's U.S. visit clearly showed the attention with which the whole world is following the course of our restructuring. The more confidently we advance along the path of our society's fundamental renewal, the firmer our positions in the international arena, the more lasting peace throughout the world.

Restructuring means determined daily labor. For the worker at his machine tool and for the economic leader, for the scientist and the engineer, for the party official and soviet worker, for each and every one.

The demolition of ossified forms and habits will not be easy. Determination, staunchness, principle, and endurance will be required. We do have all these.

A new and mighty fillip was given to our advance by the Great October 70th anniversary, which was a historic landmark in the life of our own people and of all progressive mankind.

We must remember: Restructuring is the continuation of October's cause today. It demands revolutionary actions from us.

Allow me to wish you major successes.

On the eve of the plenum L.N. Zaykov toured enterprises in Zelenograd, saw for himself the organization of trade, consumer services, and citizens' leisure, visited the No 718 School which operates a computer training system and a vocational guidance office, and talked with town residents.

Frank and exacting conversations took place everywhere on how to boost every Communist's contribution to restructuring and how to enhance cadres' responsibility for their assigned work. Emphasis was placed on the importance of establishing a demanding and simultaneously creative atmosphere which helps to boost initiative within labor collectives.

Without glossing over issues or bypassing matters causing concern, there was discussion about shortcomings and errors which could not have been avoided in this unique rayon's economic and social development. Major tasks will have to be solved by Zelenograd's party organizations in mobilizing scientists, specialists, and all working people for the accelerated buildup of the potential of the electronics industry—a sector which determines the level of scientific and technical progress in the entire national economy. [passage omitted]

Shishlin Interviewed on Restructuring

AU091649 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 88 pp 1,7

[Interview with Nikolay Shishlin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Josef Nyvlt in Prague on 6 January: "The Irreversible Process of Socialist Democracy's Development"]

[Text] Prague (Our Correspondent)—A session of the CPSU Central Committee, which discussed restructuring, the party's cadre work, and the development of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, was held a year ago in January 1987. Yesterday [6 January] we discussed the first results of these social changes with Comrade Nikolay Shishlin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, who is currently paying a visit to Czechoslovakia.

[Nyvlt] The year that has passed in the Soviet Union's social development since the January session of the CPSU Central Committee has been a very rich one. What new measures and new results do you regard as being the most important?

[Shishlin] The most substantial is the fact that the process of expanding democracy and strengthening the flow of information [informovanost] has gained momentum, and that this process was not reversed and will not be reversed. This process is penetrating increasingly deeper into public and party life, and into the work of party organizations, soviets, and work collectives; this can be seen from the pages of our newspapers and periodicals, and in the work of writers, in cinematography, and in the theater.

[Nyvlt] The draft of the new Law on Elections will be submitted for public discussion. How has the experiment in elections to the local soviets been assessed?

[Shishlin] The assessment is unambiguously positive. The pre-election meetings in the so-called multimandate constituencies were markedly more active—the activity of the electorate increased. In some multimandate constituencies, for example, 10 candidates were nominated. But even those were selected from the originally nominated 50 candidates who were directly assessed at pre-election meetings.

We can convincingly claim that the work on the new electoral law is very necessary. This does not apply only to the systems of elections to the local soviets of the people's deputies, to the soviets of the republics, and the the USSR Supreme Soviet; these changes also concern elections to the party committees. Figuratively speaking, each party organization constitutes a multimandate constituency, and when we speak about elections of party organizations, I mean not only the primary party organizations, and the district, city, and regional committees, but also the Central Committee. Not a single function in the party, including the highest ones, must be for lifetime.

[Nyvlt] How do the conclusions of the January session manifest themselves in the course of the annual party meetings? What are the Communists resolving in particular?

[Shishlin] I would draw your attention to only three things, even though they do not exhaust the entire content of contemporary party work. First, the work of party committees itself was in the sign of restructuring and its main component was overcoming the discrepancy between words and deeds. The party's strategy has been worked out. The most important and the most substantial stage, when the strategy line has to be implemented in practice, is now beginning.

Another circumstance one has to pay attention to is the fact that when advancing—and the year 1987 provides proof of this—we come across two currents which look as though they were contradictory, but which are equally dangerous to restructuring. The first is avant-guardism—the endeavor by some comrades to skip stages of development, and to carry out restructuring through some sort of one-shot effort without taking into consideration that this is a long-term, complex, and difficult process.

The second current is no less dangerous; it also is capable of retarding and slowing down the restructuring of society. This is the force of old habits and stereotypes; the force of dogmas and indifference in thinking as well as in deeds and behavior. All this is discussed at the CPSU's membership and annual meetings.

The third circumstance to which I would like to draw your attention is the fact that restructuring gained new support during the past year. In society, the prevailing view is growing stronger that we cannot mark time, but must advance. We have made and are making many mistakes. Not everything we do is a success and one has to view life realistically the way it is. However, in seeking correct answers to problems that have arisen, we must do one key thing—expand democracy and public information, and courageously seek creative answers in discussions and in confrontation of views. We must seek answers that will lead our society to a qualitatively new level.

[Nyvlt] What is the CPSU's program for the all-union party conference?

[Shishlin] The convocation of the 19th all-union conference this coming June will constitute the most important event of the intraparty and intra-union life this year. We are proceeding toward this conference with the conviction that the strategic line is correct and that the course of the revolutionary renewal of society is the only thing

that is capable of ensuring new successes of socialism. There is the profound belief that only if we soberly view things as they are can we reach the correct conclusion. That means that in big as well as in small things the truth must prevail—be it happy or bitter truth. I think it is very important that we are succeeding in overcoming the apathy that affects part of society as well as some Communists. The yardstick to measure everything that has been done and is being done is social justice and the interests of man. This also means that we must have high morals, high ethics, and we must concentrate our attention not on formulating nice slogans, but on behavior and activities that correspond to the interests of all the people and of society as a whole.

[Nyvlt] Thank you for the interview.

Low Standards of Service Sphere Deplored

PM080949 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Vtorushin dispatch under the rubric "What People Are Saying About Us": "A Cup of Coffee"]

[Text] Prague—Recently, while strolling around the center of Prague with a friend from Moscow, we dropped in at the little "U Cerveneho Orla" restaurant to have a cup of coffee. Having removed our winter jackets and hung them on a rack by the wall, we sat down at a low table.

The room is divided into two parts. In one there is a bar with a counter and high stools where visitors can drink coffee or soft drinks. In the other there are six tables. You can order a meal there.

The waiter came up to us straightaway and asked us what we wanted.

"Two coffees," we replied.

"What sort of coffee would you like?" the waiter asked and began a list: "Irish coffee, Turkish coffee..."

He named six types of coffee.

We gave our order. Hearing Russian speech, an elderly man came and took a seat near us, saying that he had only yesterday flown in from Moscow. Meanwhile the waiter brought two cups of steaming coffee.

"Nice, isn't it?" our neighbor asked us, glancing at the aromatic drink. "I didn't drink a single cup the whole week I was in Moscow." He paused and asked: "Tell me frankly, in Moscow can you go into a restaurant, sit there for an hour with a friend over a cup of coffee, then leave and pay 50 kopeks or so for the pleasure? I tried, but didn't succeed. The waitress said: 'We don't serve food on Mondays.' I didn't understand the meaning of this sentence and why precisely on Mondays. Yet we had stood in line for 1 and 1/2 hours to get into the restaurant."

You can't help taking to heart the reproaches which can be heard abroad regarding our catering sphere. Recently the number of foreigners visiting our country as tourists or on business trips has increased dramatically. They compare our level of service with what they are accustomed to, and they are often perplexed.

Obviously, many people recall the incredible fog which covered Moscow this fall. All the airports were closed then. As is well known, the weather is outside human control. But it is not only merely possible, but necessary to show special concern for passengers in such a situation.

"I spent 3 days at Sheremetyevo-2," a Czechoslovak engineer who had been to our country on a business trip complained, "and for the whole 3 days I couldn't buy a bottle of water there."

Talking about the shortcomings in our service sphere, people ask: Is it really so difficult to open a sufficient number of small cafes and bars where you could not only have a quick snack but also meet and have a chat over a cup of coffee, as in the "U Cerveneho Orla" restaurant, for instance, or the hundreds of similar places scattered throughout the whole of Prague? Then there would be no standing in line and the waiters would be forced to fight for custom.

Incidentally a word about lines. Almost everyone who stays in our country talks about them. For instance, it is impossible to get into a hotel without waiting in line, even if you have a room reserved there. First you have to stand in line for a piece of paper confirming that you will actually be given a room. Then you join a line at the cash desk and pay for the room which you have not yet stayed in, and you have to fill out a special form. However, everything is much simpler in Czechoslovakia, as in other European countries. On arrival at the hotel you give the administrator your papers and you are given the room key. When you leave the hotel and hand in your key, your papers are returned. The administration itself puts all the necessary information in the register. No waiting in line, no bureaucratic formalities. You only settle up with the hotel when you leave. They don't take money up front even if you ask about it. An iron principle is at work here—first the service, then the payment for it.

When you tell leading comrades about comments regarding our service sphere, you often hear some of them say:

"Big deal, a cup of coffee or half an hour in line in a hotel! People do not come to our country for coffee, but, apparently, to resolve business questions. That must be the main point."

I think that everything must be important. Respect for the country and for its people starts with little things, a cup of coffee, efficient, impeccable service in hotels, elementary concern for passengers at airports or stations, and a great many other things.

Restructuring has sharply stepped up international contacts. They will expand with every passing day. Unfortunately it has as yet had little effect on our service sphere. This sphere must make up for its lag at accelerated rates. This affects our prestige and, if you like, to some extent our business ties with foreign partners.

We stayed in the "U Cerveneho Orla" restaurant for almost an hour, which cost us the equivalent of 66 kopeks.

Ukraine Central Committee Rebukes Poltava Obkom

AU071528 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 27 Dec 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"; boldface passages as published]

[Text] **The Central Committee Politburo has examined the progress in restructuring Poltava Obkom's work in line with the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and of the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.** The decision notes that the obkom is taking steps to restructure organizational and political activity, and to hasten the oblast's socioeconomic development. Renewal has affected all aspects of sociopolitical life. The style and methods of the work of the obkom and many party organizations have become more businesslike, enterprising, democratic, and adherent to glasnost. Ideological work keeps closer pace with life. Positive changes have taken place in economic development. In the current 5-year period, the rate of raising labor productivity in industry, construction, and transport have exceeded the average annual indexes planned for the 11th 5-year period. The volume of housing construction in the countryside has risen 1.4 times. The plans for the purchase of grain, sunflower seeds, potatoes, vegetables, and all stockbreeding produce are being fulfilled.

At the same time, the obkom does not fully implement the CPSU Central Committee directives on deepening the restructuring processes, does not always adhere to principles in assessing the achievements, and substitutes for administrative and economic organs. The organization of and control over implementing the adopted decisions continues to be a weak spot, and sufficient efforts are not being made to improve the work of gorkoms and raykoms. As a result, important economic, social, and educational tasks are being accomplished without due persistence, and the economic potential is not being fully utilized. Since the beginning of the 5-year period, the oblast's industry has fallen short of the contracts for goods delivery by R167 million. Each fifth collective is falling short of the plan for raising labor productivity. The targets set under the Food Program for the production of grain, and particularly of sugar beets, are not being met. Sufficient use has not been made of local resources to increase foodstuff production.

A number of party organizations have reconciled themselves to the lags incurred by their collectives, and to the violations of discipline. This notwithstanding, the work performed by many party committees and bureaus of basic party organizations in Poltava city, as well as in Grebenkovskiy, Mashevskiy, and Gadyachskiy Rayons has not been assessed in adherence to principles at the meetings held to examine reports by elective bodies. This measure, in practice, still has not affected basic party organizations. Many of them have not found their place in accomplishing the new tasks, have paid too little attention to the economic training of cadres and to their preparation for work under the conditions of economic accountability. Many subunits have been switched over to contracting and economic accountability only for the sake of formality.

The oblispolkom and its chairman, Comrade A.S. Myakota, have made insufficient efforts to ensure that the economy and the sociocultural sphere develop in a comprehensive way. Comrades V.P. Blinov and I.A. Gopey, obkom secretaries, have failed to make cadres duly accountable for this activity, and have shown too little personal initiative.

Party committees have made insufficient use of the levers available to deepen the democratization of public life, and to promote glasnost. The practice of electing leaders has been expanding too timidly. A number of gorkoms, raykoms, and basic party organizations still have not managed to boldly combine mass measures with individual educational work. They not always take into account the peculiarities of various categories of the population, and do not exert adequate control over the mass media.

The shortcomings noted are explainable primarily by the lack of mutual exactingness and strictness in the activity of the obkom bureau. Cadre problems are frequently settled in haste. Comrade F.T. Morgun, obkom first secretary, has assumed many economic undertakings to the detriment of organizational and political work.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has instructed the obkom bureau, in compliance with the CPSU Central Committee directives, to aim organizational and political work more distinctly at accomplishing the main tasks of restructuring, at the further democratization of the entire public life, at a radical economic reform, and at the firm consolidation of political methods in control; to boost the role of plenums; to create an atmosphere favorable for a free and frank exchange of views at plenums, and for an objective evaluation of work performed by obkom bureau members and secretaries, and to increase the responsibility of the latter for real changes in the

entrusted sectors; for this purpose, to make fuller use of the present accountability reports rendered by elective organs; to improve control over gorkoms and raykoms, and to eradicate bureaucratism, free-ride mentality, and the lack of initiative from their activities; and to shift the center of routine work to basic party organizations.

Party committees should regard it as an important duty to resolutely improve work among leading cadres, and to reinforce these cadres with functionaries capable of restructuring and renewing in deed; to perform cadre work openly and publicly; to perfect the practice of electing leaders, and to make better use of competitive principles and of certifying; to boost the role of basic party organizations in cadre policy.

The obkom has been instructed to take steps to expand glasnost, to deepen the process of democratization in party and administrative organs, in trade union and Komsomol organizations, and to more vigorously engage the working people and all population in control over public life. The obkom has been prompted to keep ideological work closely in step with the practical tasks of restructuring, to cultivate among people the feeling of high civil duty, initiative and efficiency, and to boost the prestige of high-quality labor; and to improve the economic training of the working people. Party and Komsomol organizations are expected to pay particular attention to the education of young people, and to promote their production and social activity; to intensify the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism, drug addiction, and other negative phenomena; and to raise in this work the role of cultural and sports establishments, of war and labor veteran organizations, of women's councils, and other public formations. Party committees must improve control over the mass media, and must boost their role in the objective and operative information of the population.

The Central Committee has requested at party committees and basic organizations concentrate their efforts on the settlement of problems connected with switching enterprises and organizations over to new management conditions. At the same time, it is essential to aim organizational and educational work at accomplishing the 5-year tasks and at coping with delivery orders. The obkom is expected to increase the responsibility of the agro-industrial committee's functionaries for overcoming the lag in the production of grain and sugar beets, for the intensification of stockbreeding, for a significant increase in the share of local resources and subsidiary farms run by enterprises in foodstuff production, and for the development and consolidation of the material base for processing and storing agricultural produce.

The Central Committee has requested that the obkom, party, administrative, trade union, and economic organs take additional steps to increase the volume of housing construction, and for this purpose to make better use of direct labor method, as well as to induce enterprises to merge their resources with those of the population; to ensure that every labor collective completes a concrete program for solving the housing problem before the year 2000; and to see to it that funds assigned for sociocultural purposes are fully utilized.

The Central Committee has examined the Donetsk Oblast party organizations' progress in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions on raising the level and quality of machine building products. The obkom's attention was called to the slow restructuring progress in machine building, and to the insufficient level of organizational and political work in labor collectives of the branch. The need was emphasized to induce these collectives to accelerate scientific-technological progress, to develop new generations of equipment, and to raise the technical standards and quality of products, as well as the effectiveness of production. Additional steps have been requested to tighten party control over machine building enterprises and organizations, and to ensure that they reach the targets provided by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers in their decisions concerning the development of machine building.

Disciplines Officials

AU081111 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Dec 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"; boldface as published]

[Text] **The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat has examined the work carried out by the Ukrainian Ministry of Light Industry to restructure control over the economy of the branch.** The adopted decision notes that the ministry's board and party committee (under Comrades G.G. Nikitenko, minister, and I.V. Tolkachev, party committee secretary) proved to be unable to spearhead this work properly in light of the requirements of the 27th Party Congress and of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum. The possibilities offered by the new economic mechanism have not been fully utilized in the branch.

The ministry's board and apparatus are slow in switching over to predominantly economic management methods. The old practice of shifting the main load of the plan to the end of the 5-year period has not been eliminated from planning. The financial situation of many labor collectives is unfavorable, and they fall short in the plan for profits. However, the ministry has not taken effective measures to assist them in a practical way. Free-ride attitudes to problems concerning the development of the branch and raising the standards of products have not been eliminated, and the capacities put into operation have been utilized in an inadequate way. Contract discipline has slackened. The pace of expanding the assortment of goods and of improving their quality is

extremely slow. The role played by branch science in this sphere is insignificant. Scientific-technological cooperation with the CEMA member countries is not developing in a practical way.

In the current 5-year period, the branch has missed the targets for capital investments by R33.6 million, deadlines for the construction of facilities are being postponed, and construction from enterprise resources has been developing too slowly. This has jeopardized the targets set under the comprehensive program for goods and services.

Comrades V.V. Vilskiy, G.A. Alekseyev, A.I. Livyy, A.K. Malaya, B.V. Nosal, and A.V. Sokolov have not shown due initiative. They have failed to take coordinated measures to eliminate the disproportions that exist in the oblast, and to ensure that the economic methods of control develop properly. Comrade G.V. Dzis, Ukrainian Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and Comrade Yu.A. Dvoynykh, Ukrainian Gosplan deputy chairman, have not shown persistence in handling problems concerning the development of light industry.

A number of shortcomings have been found in the work performed by the ministerial apparatus and its cadre services, and by the republic-level Committee of the Trade Union of Textile and Light Industry Workers (under Comrade K.M. Kuznetsov, chairman). They assumed a superficial attitude to the elaboration and implementation of the social program and in this program did not take account of the needs and possibilities of labor collectives, and were unable to overcome stagnation in cadre work. The certification of experts in the ministerial apparatus was carried out only for the sake of formality, and the reserve of efficient leading cadres is being created slowly.

The party committee has not determined its role and place in settling the problems accumulated in the branch, is pleased with insignificant advances in the work, has proved to be unable to rise above narrow departmental interests, and has paid little attention to improvements in the style and methods of work.

The attention of Comrades G.G. Nikitenko and I.V. Tolkachev has been called to their poor role in organizing the implementation of party and government decisions concerning the restructuring of economic management. The Central Committee has requested them to draw up concrete steps to eliminate the shortcomings noted, and to concentrate attention on meeting the people's needs for various high-quality goods.

The deputy ministers have been commissioned to introduce strict order into the observance of contracted obligations, to curb the production of goods which have not been ordered, to put an end to the practice of overfulfilling the plans for goods which meet with limited demand, and to complete the action of switching branch enterprises over to direct long-term relations in the first quarter of 1988.

Comrades G.V. Dzis, Yu.A. Dvoynykh, and G.G. Nikitenko have been charged with the task of determining, in January 1988, the immediate problems concerning improvements in the performance of the light industry, and these problems have to be settled by union- and republic-level organs in 1988-90.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers, Gosplan, Ministry of Light Industry, obkoms, Kiev Gorkom, oblispolkoms, and Kiev Gorispolkom have been commissioned to ensure that light industry's production and social facilities are built in 1988-90 at priority rates and in a comprehensive way, and to give labor collectives the necessary material and financial assistance for this purpose.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Light Industry along with the republic-level Committee of the Textile and Light Industry Workers' Trade Union have been instructed to substantially amend the branch program for providing each family with a separate apartment or an individual house before the year 2000, to adopt a complex of measures in the first quarter of 1988 to stabilize labor cadres at branch enterprises and to create stable labor collectives, and to make better use of the stimulating role of wages for this purpose.

Comrade G.G. Nikitenko and Comrade A.S. Statinov, minister of trade, have been instructed to determine the rational need for all kinds and groups of light industry goods and, in proceeding from this need, to elaborate and to approve a long-term assortment concept in the first quarter of 1988. These leaders have been told that groundless refusals to accept commodities and violations of contracted supply obligations would not be tolerated. These issues have to be examined at joint board and council sessions.

The Ukrainian Ministries of Higher and Secondary Special Education and of Education, and the Ukrainian State Committees for Labor and for Vocational and Technical Education have been instructed to define more precisely the need for workers and specialists in the period 1988-90, to amend the plans for their training, to raise the effectiveness of vocational and technical schools, to examine the emerging possibilities for groups of additional vocations, and expand the network of inter-school and branch training combines.

The party committee in the Ukrainian Ministry of the Light Industry, and party organizations at enterprises and associations, the decision notes, are obligated to increase the responsibility of specialists for the state of affairs in the branch, and to establish business relations with party committees in related branches and enterprises.

Tajik KGB Boss on Border, Spies, Draft-Dodging

PM071435 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 30 Dec 87 p 2

[Speech delivered by V.V. Petkel, chairman of the Tajik SSR KGB, at Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Eighth Plenum; date not specified]

[Text] Tajikistan's Chekists are resolving tasks of safeguarding state security in a complex situation. This is explained by the fact that there is a complex tangle of contradictions in the region neighboring the republic—Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, and other countries. The situation in the Republic of Afghanistan has become more complex in connection with the implementation by that country's government of the policy of national reconciliation. Counterrevolutionary gangs continue to be sent into that country from Pakistan. The military conflict between Iran and Iraq continues. The situation in the Persian Gulf remains tense.

Imperialist circles, their special services, and the bandit formations associated with them are doing their utmost to try and exploit this tangle of contradictions to expand their subversive activity against Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. To this end the dushman gangs are stepping up their activity in provinces bordering the USSR. The enemy is trying to transfer armed forms of struggle to Soviet territory. That is why in March and April this year, on the special services' direct instructions, the dushmans carried out armed actions on the border and on the territory of Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Oblasts.

In connection with these provocations Comrade V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR KGB, visited the scene of the events. He set the state security organs and border guards the task of preventing armed actions and other hostile manifestations on the border.

How is this task being fulfilled? The republic's Chekists are carrying out a great volume of work under the leadership of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. A number of intelligence officers, agents of enemy special services, and emissaries of enemy ideological centers among foreign citizens have been exposed with the help of working people. A number of provocations against Soviet citizens abroad have been foiled. Dozens of attempts to violate the state border by criminal elements trying to go abroad have been stopped.

Open and organized hostile manifestations by religious extremists have been prevented in the republic.

However, there are also definite shortcomings in our work. We do not always succeed in fully controlling the existing situation and detecting certain emerging undesirable processes in time.

In conditions of restructuring and broadening democracy and glasnost in Soviet society, preemptive, preventive work assumes especially great significance for KGB organs. Our actions must be understandable to working people and supported by them. The existence of crimes like cross-border smuggling deals illustrates the need to further improve preventive work together with border guards and law enforcement organs.

It must be admitted that, in view of the serious shortcomings and omissions in the organization of patriotic, international, atheist education in the republic, hostile foreign ideological centers and organizations are able to find fertile soil. This is illustrated by the dozens of trials held in 1986-1987 of ringleaders—unofficial [zashtatnyy] Muslim clerics who not only fanned religious sentiments but also called for a "jihad" against the existing system. They are setting the goal of infiltrating party, soviet, and law enforcement organs in order to facilitate the implementation of hostile designs. I want to take one important sector from the broad range of questions regarding the military-patriotic education of the republic's population, where there are very many shortcomings and unsolved problems. The flaws in patriotic, international, and atheist education are mirrored in the process of drafting young men for service in the Armed Forces. In particular, there is no reduction in the number of people evading the draft. We must all be alerted by the very existence of cases where 18-year-old citizens evade the performance of their sacred constitutional obligation and patriotic duty—service in the army and defense of their fatherland. The reasons for these criminal actions cannot leave us indifferent.

Some young people think it is better to get a 2-year suspended sentence, get married, and have a couple of kids in that time than to do military service right away. Some people take this step for fear of going to the Republic of Afghanistan. Others do not want to leave the republic for religious and regionalist motives or under the negative influence of relatives.

Unfortunately there is no reduction in the number of young men susceptible to religious prejudices. Materials at rayon military commissariats show that there are many such people each year among the draft-dodgers in Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Obasts and Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy, Garmskiy, and other rayons under republican jurisdiction.

For instance, some draftees from Kommunisticheskiy, Vakhshkiy, Dzhilikulskiy, and Kabodiyenskiy Rayons, without deregistering themselves at the local military commissariats, went to other rayons in the oblast and republic, where they began to study the dogmas of Islam, and thus evaded military service. They included Abdusatarov and Yatimov from Vakhshskiy Rayon, Sharipov, Nazarov, and the Dustov brothers from Dzhilikulskiy Rayon, and others. Until February 1987 Abdukodyrov, the son of an eshon [religious functionary], born in 1962 in Kulyab Oblast's Sovetskiy Rayon, did not have any

identity papers and was not registered anywhere. Said Abdullayev and Dzhumamurod Khodzhayev, the sons of influential clerics, both born in 1966 in the same oblast, vanished from their homes at the time of the draft, and their parents state that they do not know their children's whereabouts.

Shodi Asoyev and Yakub Sobirov, residents of Kommunisticheskiy Rayon, passed the draft commission, but the day before they were to be sent to the assembly point they presented the military commissar with marriage certificates and the birth certificates of two children. Salim Kalonov, a resident of Kuybyshevskiy Rayon's Oktyabrskiy village soviet, was down in the records under the girl's name Salima in order to avoid the army. Some residents of Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon's Romit and Kafinigan village soviets also resorted to this sort of deception.

Such facts illustrate the negligent execution of their duties by personnel in village soviet military records departments and the poor supervision of their activity by local soviet organs. The role of area plenipotentiaries and also of legal measures taken by the prosecutor's office is scarcely visible here.

These are the causes behind the incident which took place in Kanibadamskiy Rayon with the connivance of the chief of the Lakhuti village soviet military records department. Abdurasul Mirakhmatov, born in 1957, remained completely unregistered and did not do his military service even though he never traveled to another district. His marriage was registered in the village soviet in March 1987 without papers. Only at the end of May 1987 was he issued with a birth certificate and a USSR citizen's passport.

There is no reduction in the number of draft-dodgers in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast. It is probably not necessary to toughen up criminal penalties for this, as there are various poorly used forms of action against violators of the law.

Sometimes it is not only prosecutor's office organs which adopt this kind of position. It is also current among the leaders of certain party, soviet, and Komsomol personnel, mostly at the rayon level.

The main cause of these shortcomings is that the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee's good comprehensive program on education questions has not been followed up with effective organizational measures to ensure its implementation by all responsible organs from top to bottom. It is time to move from talk to action and boost exactingness.

In our opinion, the Central Committee Administrative Organs Department must more rigorously monitor execution of the comprehensive program by military commissariats, law enforcement and soviet organs, aand other organizations responsible for young people's military-patriotic education.

Being responsible for this area of work, I too must draw up organizational measures in a more responsible and businesslike fashion and step up exactingness for executive discipline.

Kursk Obkom Replaces First Secretary

LD091210 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 9 Jan 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An organizational question was examined today at the plenum of the Kursk Obkom. The plenum relieved Comrade Gudkov of his duties as obkom first secretary in connection with his retirement on pension.

Comrade (Seleznev), who has been working chief of a section of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, was elected first secretary of the Kursk Obkom.

Uzbek TU Plenum Discusses Economic Issues

NC110829 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] The application of the principle of economic production, self-sufficiency in finding financial resources, and self-management in the republic's factories and organizations, requires a complete reconstruction of the work carried out by trade unions. What measures should the trade union organizations take to upgrade the share of their work in the effort being made to realize the tasks aimed at increasing the republic's pace of social and economic development?

All of this was discussed at the plenum which the Uzbek SSR Council of Trade Unions held in Tashkent yesterday. Alimova, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Trade Unions, read a report on the work which the primary trade union organizations have been carrying out in accordance with the new methods of economic management, financial self-sufficiency, and self-management, as derived from the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 18th USSR Trade Unions Congress.

The active members of the trade Unions in the Uzbek oblasts had debated the matters discussed at the plenum on a wide scale in the past. The suggestions and critical views that were put forward by the trade union activists during the debates were taken into consideration at later meetings—particularly during the adoption of decisions.

The keynote and other speeches delivered during the plenum noted that the majority of the republic's production unions and factories had started to work in accordance with economic principles. A total of 627 factories, organizations, and establishments will adopt the new work methods as of 1988.

A detailed analysis was made at the plenum of the positive experience and the deficiencies in the work which the trade union committees and organizations have been carrying out to preparatory to implementing the economic reforms, fulfilling their social tasks, and encouraging positive initiatives by the work collectives.

The decisions adopted by the plenum establish complex measures aimed at improving the work of the trade unions and at helping them broaden their role in the effort being made by factories to draw up their economic and social development plans and to realize their production targets in accordance with the conditions established for upgrading the economic mechanism.

The participants also discussed the work which the republic's trade union and economic organs have been carrying out to improve collective gardening of fruits and vegetables and to upgrade the supplementary establishments set up by the citizens. They also approved the trade union and the state social [word indistinct] budget for 1988.

Comrade Anichev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

Afghanistan Veterans 'Badly Need Help'

PM061151 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 50,
13 Dec 88 p 13

[Viktor Turshatov report: "Afghanistan Veterans: Society Owes Them"]

[Text] Eight years ago the word "Afghanistan" acquired its disturbing connotations. In his NBC interview Mikhail Gorbachev formulated the Soviet Union's position on the issue as follows: "...The situation requires a solution. We are looking for ways to bring about an honest and prompt one to the problem." The outcome of our efforts depends on whether or not a will exists to resolve the issue by political means. If Washington chooses to show goodwill, analysts estimate that the withdrawal of Soviet troops could be effected in a few months' time.

The inhumanity of war is obvious. We see the faces of young Soviet soldiers who, performing their internationalist duty, have fought in Afghanistan and try to understand what distinguishes them from other lads their age. The newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has written about their heightened sense of social justice. PRAVDA relates how torn they are at the sight of human callousness...

What follows is a story about some of these former soldiers who deserve a little more care and attention from Soviet society.

When they first arrive at this place, they are assembled in a big room to hear the following honest and straightforward address: "You have fulfilled your duty and sustained serious wounds. Many of you have lost legs or arms. Life is going to be very difficult for you, but you must summon your courage, acknowledge the terrible truth and remember: you have remained citizens of your country like anybody else and the makers of your own destiny."

Youths aged 19 or 20 with an experience of Afghanistan behind them hear these words at the rehabilitation sanatorium in Saki, the Crimea.

They arrive in this town in the middle of the Crimean steppes after several operations in military hospitals; they are sore from countless injections, and sick and tired of treatment. Doctors know the heavily wounded need to relax from time to time, and send them off for a month to breathe the salubrious air and to wallow in the famous mud baths which have helped many people before them. After the sanatorium, the discharged soldiers usually need to go back to the hospital for further treatment.

The rehabilitation centre in Saki opened in the early 80s, when few people thought our presence in Afghanistan was to last. Therefore, the sanatorium was built on a small scale. But soldiers with back wounds, fractured bones, multiple operations and amputations continued to arrive, and another wing had to be added.

From the medical point of view, the conditions here are ideal.

There are instruments for laser therapy, electrostimulation of muscles, and training apparatus the like of which can only be found at the Cosmonauts Training Centre. The rooms are clean and comfortable, complete with colour TV, video and game machines. This facade is impressive. What about the young men themselves?

We have seen them on television clad in khaki, in a bivouac, in endless battles, charging from the right, from the left, from the air. We have read about them in newspapers: how the wounded are decorated, how they return to skirmish areas after hospital treatment. But those were stories about the men "fit for the frontline service". What about those who have lost their health in Afghanistan, received the well-deserved medals and who have a tough future as a disabled cut out for them? How much do we know about them?

In Saki, people have long got used to them. In the marketplace, a seller would sometimes give one a bunch of grapes or a pair of apples, saying: "No money, laddie, help yourself". Shoppers standing tiredly in the queue already fed up and ready to explode at the slightest pretext, make way for them without a word.

Young radiant faces and...a wheelchair or crutches. The heart-rending incompatibility sends sharp pangs of guilt through every normal human being. It is hard to explain my own feeling in words. I can only say that after an hour at the sanatorium the photographer whose pictures you see here put his camera back into his bag, sat down, covered his face with his hands and said: "That's all. I can't take any more pictures."

According to service cards, their military specialities differ. There are sappers, infantrymen and drivers among them. But the most popular item among the wares offered by the local army supply shop is the commando vest. All of them want to have this "symbol of valour and strength", as the newsmen call it. The war is over for them. What do they need this "symbol" for? Perhaps it's a game only the veterans know how to play?

The most popular wares at the nearby grocery are chocolates and condensed milk with sugar. The heroes of Afghanistan are as fond of candy as children are. But not all. My interview with Igor Ovsyannikov, commando platoon leader, bearer of the Order of the Red Star, began with small talk, then dwindled to the war. "Igor, you are closely following the latest reports from Afghanistan. How do you assess the latest events there, the policy of national reconciliation?"

"Honestly, I don't know. They are showing dushmans on TV laying down arms, but the number of heavily wounded is not decreasing. I'll have to change my profession, of course, I want to become a historian. Studying this war, I hope I'll understand it better."

Yes, he can think for himself and is confident of his future. I'm sorry to have to write about this handsome big-hearted Russian in a telegraphic style. The strongest impression · first interview, however, was of the bleeding stumps I saw as he removed his artificial legs after a test walk, and the prosthetic appliances themselves which make one think of anything but "humanity" or "high tech".

Said Captain Mikhail Babich, acting chief of the rehabilitation centre: "As I look at the most sophisticated serious physical afflictions, they need more than good medical treatment. What they need is friendly attention, support and love from the people around them. But unfortunately, most remain indifferent. What's worse, some prompt the lads to drink."

What about letters? At all times, tender letters from girl friends, caring letters from parents, and cheerful missives from friends have warmed soldiers heads. Alas, the sanatorium is almost a "dead zone" in this respect. Former girl friends have long since married: life does not stand still while soldiers are fighting and recovering from wounds. Parents are often told not to write because the Crimean holiday is only a month long. Of course, there are more progressive and expedient forms of communication, so many of the young men get telegraphed money orders. As for friends... Mostly, it's only former patients who ever write to Saki.

Andrey Zaytsev served six months with the commandos, lost his leg, and spent 18 months in hospitals. He said: "The other day I got a letter from a fellow patient. Disabled and confined to a wheelchair, he had to go from his village up to town to get permission from the commission which allots disability pensions. The first time he went there, some specialists on the commission where absent. The second time, the same thing happened. He said he would not care to come again. But he can't survive without a pension, he's got no legs.

"Only a short time ago, the Minister of Defence issued the order prescribing all formalities to be completed at the hospital. I have seen the order, but have not had the time to collect all the necessary papers. Without a leg, I'm not very good at running the bureaucratic races, but compared to that other fellow, I'm lucky!"

There are other disquieting reports from disabled vets. Some of them write that local recruiting offices often offer them the inferior 30 hp model Zaporozhets (automobile) instead of the 40 hp model. Prosthetic appliances, however imperfect, ar hard to obtain. So are jobs. The most cautious analysis shows that it is hard to subsist, if only for a few months, on a disability pension.

On the way back from the sanatorium, I popped into the local Komsomol committee. A young and sympathetic secretary, who struck me as one who would not recite long speeches from prepared text, told me about a recent get-together of local ex-internationalists. This past summer they assembled for the first time to organize a council and a march past. "The council assists young veterans to receive flats, buy cars, that is to say, to settle down."

"Do they visit the wounded?"

"They are planning to. So far they have organized fruit parcels to be sent to the sanatorium from nearby farms."

A march past, flats, cars, fruit...What's the matter with us, people? Fellow soldiers seem to be paying their comrades off with melons and grapes...

November saw the all-union meeting of young reservists in Ashkhabad. Most of the delegates had fought in Afghanistan. The programme included shooting practice, military vehicle-driving competitions and discussions. One issue discussed was that of disabled vets. Unfortunately, the final document did not contain a single clause about assistance to them, although they badly need our help.

Moscow Afghan War Veterans Club Founded

PM071141 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
22 Dec 87 p 4

[Report by Ye. Rubleva: "Return"]

[Excerpts] I look into the faces of these young men who have passed through the combat school of internationalism in Afghanistan and who have come to the "Duty" club; they are still essentially boys, and I think with anguish: What is happening, why is it so difficult and so painful for them to return to the world of ordinary life? Perhaps the trouble lies with us, in a shortage of the spiritual sensitivity which they need more today than the most righteous speeches and just words? Perhaps that is why their period of adaptation to ordinary, humdrum, unextreme conditions takes such a long time?

When they return home after serving in Afghanistan their native city where they grew up and went to school and started work often welcomes them coldly and distantly. Fashions here changed long ago and the girls from the same class are married. Their friends pester them with questions. But what can they say? What they lived by for the past 2 years has suddenly been relegated to the sphere of memory. There was the war there, and a man was shown in his true light in an instant. Willy nilly, everyone was together: fighting and going to the cinema. Cowards and villains were revealed immediately. There it really was a case of one for all... And now the return.

Sergey Knyazev returned from Afghanistan 3 years ago. He returned with a leg missing. A long time has passed but he will never forget how he fought his handicap, how he went from instance to instance for the apartment that was lawfully his. At home his wife was expecting a child. How much sometimes he wanted to hammer his fist on the table to awaken the man inside a high-ranking boss.

It has so happened that the boys who stood face to face with death have failed to withstand the onslaught of "civilian" indifference, callousness, and spiritual deafness. What we have sometimes become accustomed to tolerating was a stumbling block for them. Some of them explode, in a brutal attempt to surmount the period of habituation. Here what we call the usual measures of influence are as a rule futile. Even their relations cannot always help them. But sometimes it is enough for a comrade who has also passed through Afghanistan simply to place a hand on his shoulder.

Knyazev was well aware of this, was aware of it because he himself felt the unusual strength of this combat fraternity. He could see how his comrades from various parts of the country would travel by relays to meet with their combat friends in Moscow for just one day.

A year ago, he met with Sergey Loktionov, who also came "from over there," and is now secretary of the Perovskiy Komsomol Raykom. Loktionov was keen on the idea of creating a club of internationalist servicemen under the raykom. Other young men—Iosif Antonov and Sergey Kuznetsov—supported him. The club was born. They began with enthusiasm. They realized how necessary aid and friendly attention were to young soldiers who have just returned. They realized that to avoid a repetition of Knyazev's story the young men should know what rights and benefits they have on entering civilian life.

Having completed their service, Viktor Zaripov and Andrey Golikov—also inhabitants of Perovskiy Rayon—returned home this year. The club invited the young men to its sessions. Gradually, through club events, through preparation for the New Year soiree to be held next Saturday, the young men are being drawn into normal civilian life. [passage omitted]

One of the main avenues in the work of the "Duty" club is help for the families of dead soldiers. Various destinies meet them inside a house where misfortune has struck. They recently visited the mother of a dead officer, an old woman. She needed everything—help in buying milk and bread and, when the snow comes, help in transporting half a truckload of sand to her son's gravestone. This the young men whose destinies merged with the destinies of the dead heroes will, of course, do.

Now that the new venture has gotten going the club has unexpectedly become popular. It is being overwhelmed by photographic reporters, writers, and journalists. "Do not write about us. Publicity is beginning to slow down our work," was the young men's request.

But I was unable to fulfill their request. In the short time I spent in contact with the young men my heart was filled with an intense pain. How little we know about their problems! How many young men, on returning from Afghanistan, are now seeking their place in civilian life. And how important it is to help them do so. In Perovskiy Rayon they are finding their way. But surely it is not the only one?

Astrakhan Bishop Calls for Opening of Kiev Church

AU080749 Paris AFP in English 0716 GMT
8 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, Jan 8 (AFP)—Larger crowds than usual took part in the orthodox churches' Christmas celebrations here on January 6 and 7, on the year which sees the 1,000th anniversary of Russia's conversion to Christendom.

Church officials welcomed the reopening of Moscow's Danilovskiy monastery, restored by the authorities for the anniversary.

But, in an unprecedented move, Bishop Feodosiy of Astrakhan termed the move "insufficient" and called on authorities to reopen the Kievo-Peshcherskiy church in Kiev. The church, closed "for repairs" in 1961, is now only open to tourists.

Several monasteries are also expected to be reopened in time for the June celebration, including one at Optino-Pushkinskiy in Tambov (central Russia).

Remains of World War II Victims Found in Kiev
AU081215 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 27 Dec 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Mortal remains of Soviet citizens killed by the German fascist occupiers during the Great Patriotic War have been found in the Darnitsa forest of the City of Kiev.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers has set up a government commission chaired by I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian minister of internal affairs. The commission has been assigned to examine the plots of the land on which the mortal remains have been found, to ensure that they are properly examined by experts and documented, to organize the transfer, and to make proposals concerning the perpetuation of the memory of the victims of the fascist occupation.

The results of the commission's work will be published.

Railroad Official Interviewed On Shortcomings
LD072230 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now, an urgent report. Our correspondent Vladimir Mikhaylenko and Gennadiy Matveyevich Fadeyev, deputy USSR minister of railways, will tell you, comrades, about the working of rail transport during the first days of the new year. Over to the central operational control center of the Ministry of Railways. [passage omitted]

[Mikhaylenko] But I've heard it said that you've got problems here on the...

[Fadeyev, interrupting] Yes. It is no exaggeration to say that the Transcaucasian Railway is our weakest spot in the transport process today. Over 100 loaded trains are standing idle at the approaches to the Trancaucasian Railway, over 100 trains. This is caused mainly by the fact that, throughout the Republic of Georgia, unlaoding is carried out unsatisfactorily. About 6,000 railway cars bound for Georgia alone are standing idle. Throughout the Georgian Republic, night unloading amounts to only 15-20%, during the night. Eighty percent of the unloading is done during the day. There is no such situation anywhere else in our country, not in a single region.

[Mikhaylenko] Three days ago, a Ministry of Railways senior controller told me that, in a 24-hour period, 30,000 wagons in the sidings of the country's industrial enterprises stood idle, awaiting unloading or held up during unloading. What's the position there?

[Fadeyev] The situation today has changed for the better, but the required pace of unloading work has not yet been achieved.

[Mikhaylenko] Tell me, does the Ministry of Railways get any income from these hold-ups?

[Fadeyev] Without going into the details of the matter, I will say, for the benefit of those who are, well, not conversant with the question, that each car that is operational on the network brings in an income of some R30.

[Mikhaylenko] Every 24 hours?

[Fadeyev] Every 24 hours. In the case of a car that stands idle for too long through the fault of a customer, because he doesn't unload it, the Ministry of Railways receives only kopeks—up to R3—the daily fine. Yes, up to R3.

[Mikhaylenko] In other words, minus R27 a day.

[Fadeyev] Minus R27. But that's not the end of the matter. After all, the unloaded car won't be sent tomorrow to an enterprise.

[Mikhaylenko] To a different one?

[Fadeyev] To a different one. We are then obliged to pay for the failure to supply cars. In other words, the industry has a double loss, and sometimes even a triple one.

[Mikhaylenko] Gennadiy Matveyevich, excuse me, but, man to man, what worries you most at the moment?

[Fadeyev] Most of all, I fear Saturday and Sunday, when the rhythm of unloading work falls by nearly half. Our partners generally forget on those days that the railways work around the clock...

[Mikhaylenko, interrupting] Without days off?

[Fadeyev] Without days off. There must be both a smooth rhythm and presentation of goods for loading and unloading. That is precisely what is missing on those days.

KOMMUNIST Opens 'All-Union Conference' Rubric
PM071711 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Journal's First Issue"]

[Text] The editorial entitled "Political Vanguard of Society" in the first issue of the journal KOMMUNIST is dedicated to theoretical and practical problems of party activity in current conditions.

The journal begins a new rubric: "Leading Up To the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference." It publishes an item under this rubric by N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "Restructuring and Party Leadership of the Economy." It also publishes an article by O. Khlevnyuk entitled "The 18th Party Conference. Time, Problems, Decisions." Material by V. Filippov entitled "What the Raykom Is Capable Of" begins a collective discussion of current, everyday issues at rayon level; the editorial office announces a competition for the best essay, report, or letter on this subject.

The rubric "The World Today: The First Step Toward Nuclear Disarmament" carries an article by V. Zhurkin, S. Karaganov, and A. Kortunov entitled "Challenges to Security—Old and New," which is dedicated to the results of the summit meeting in Washington, and a review by Academician Ye. Velikhov on the joint Soviet-U.S. publication "Breakthrough. Formation of New Thinking."

A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, discusses the revived legacy of outstanding economists A. Chayanov and N. Kondratyev and current problems concerning the development of agricultural science.

The rubric "Everything In the Person—Everything For the Person" is represented by I. Kon's article entitled "The Psychology of Social Inertia" and material on the current state and prospects of Soviet public health care, prepared by the journal's research team. The journal also publishes an article by Academician G. Pospelov entitled "Artificial Intelligence—the Basis of the New Information Technology."

The rubric "Debates and Discussions" publishes articles presenting different views on the problems of price formation, including a letter by J. Turf, member of the Belgian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, entitled "Surely There Are More Than Two Colors in a Rainbow?"

The section "In the Socialist Countries: Experience, Achievements, Problems" publishes the report delivered by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, at the Eighth CPC Congress entitled "Forward Along the Path of Socialism With a Chinese Face."

The journal publishes the reply from the Chernigov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom to the material entitled "The Nezhin Story."

Compensation for Stalin-Era Prisoners Urged
PM081031 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Dec 87 p 11

[Letter from reader V.Z. Gromova carried as part of "Facts, Problems, and Opinions" feature: "They Are Still Around"; first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] In 1987 the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial board received more than 10,000 letters on questions touched on in the letters below.

I am an attentive reader of yours. I have been reading your paper with interest for a long time. Recently a lot has been written about things which had been forgotten; I read some articles and my heart bleeds. I remember my life and my husband's life. Our generation lived through the difficult 1930's, then the war years, then also the difficult postwar years. Now the deaths of Kirov, Tukachevskiy, Yakir, and other innocent victims are written about openly. This is understandable: The fate of great people is in public view. But if even great people did not survive, what can be said about ordinary people?

My husband, A.I. Bogomolov, was just such an ordinary person. He was arrested after the end of the Finnish war, sentenced to be shot, then given 10 years, plus 5 years deprivation of rights. He spent 4 years in a camp in the north in appalling conditions. Then came another arrest, another accusation, 15 months of "tridsatka" [allusion unknown], in an underground cell. In both cases he did not sign the accusation. He served his time there in the north, 12 years in total. His health was ruined forever, and his lungs were frostbitten. After the camp he lived in Syktyvkar.

I met my husband after 42 years' separation, the last time I had seen him had been in 1940, when I brought my newborn son to visit him at a Leningrad transit prison. We met... My impression was appalling, but we decided not to part. His wife had died, my husband had died, and our children had grown up. So for 5 years I have been doctor, sister, nurse, and friend. My husband's health is completely ruined, he worked until he was 74 years old. We live in my room in a communal apartment, next door there is a mentally ill person. There are brawls, shouting matches, and the woman next door gets into fist fights. We have been refused a separate apartment—we have more than 6 meters per person.

But this is what I want to tell you. In 1955 my husband was rehabilitated with regard to his second conviction, while we received rehabilitation for the first conviction only in 1985, when I myself started to pursue the matter, and the Leningrad Military District military tribunal reconsidered his 1940 case and also quashed the verdict

"for lack of corpus delicti." My husband was given R270 only after this rehabilitation—2 months' salary for the post he held before the Finnish war. For all the 12 years in northern camps, for the interrogations, for the exhausting work in mines and felling timber—a total of R270! Every time I enquired I was told that this is the law and referred to the 1955 statute.

My husband's rights as a participant in the war were restored only after the last rehabilitation. He is now a category one invalid, he is blind, I read him the articles, and he cries. He gets a pension of R113—this includes R15 which he is given as a category one invalid "for nursing." But I have written and shall continue to write to all the official bodies because I think the whole thing is unjust. So long as he lives and I have the strength, I shall write about how people like my husband were given no benefits to compensate, however little, for everything they have suffered. They have not wronged their country, but their lives have been wrecked, their families' lives have been wrecked, they were deprived of society's respect, and they were not even given the right to fight, to become honored invalids or war veterans and receive festive congratulations!

I am not asking you to help me get an apartment. We are elderly people and even if you help us get a separate apartment, it will be too late for us. My husband is 82 years old. Recently he suffered a stroke. But I beg you to help all those who also suffered innocently and were unable to defend themselves since "the verdict was not subject to appeal."

Today they broadcast on the radio Tvardovskiy's poem "Right of Remembrance." I shook, and tears flowed from my husband's blind eyes. He was always a worker, a Komsomol member, he worked on the Kuznetskstroy, in Balkhash, and he always had callused hands. Now he cannot do anything, of course, but he senses the new time and believes that it is really revolutionary. Today a lot is changing, and it will be unjust if people who have suffered so terribly disappear from view when so much attention is being paid to war and labor veterans. Why not review the 1955 statute? Why don't the people who have suffered humiliation and shock enjoy any benefits—either material or moral? Are they to blame for the fact that they were unable to earn them?

I beg you to help me and to help those who can still be helped. Even now you sometimes hear people say of such-and-such a person that he was an enemy of the people and it is not for nothing that he was behind bars. It is not a question of money—the point is that society should be aware of its duty to these people.

Valentina Zinovevna Gromova, Leningrad

Time To 'Speak Aloud About Stalin's Crimes'

PM081641 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 52, 28 Dec 87-3 Jan 88 (Signed to Press 30 Dec 87) pp 14-15

["Roundtable" feature prepared by V. Vodolazhskiy and V.Gatov, under the rubric "History Club": "Facing up to the Truth"—first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Excerpts] Every crucial stage forces society to turn and take a closer look at the historical path it has traveled. The process of restructuring has generated unprecedented interest in our country's history. This outburst of interest is also indicated by the large volume of readers' letters addressed to NEDELYA'S "History Club." With the help of Club Chairman Academician I.D. Kovalchenko (the NEDELYA Editorial Board takes the opportunity to congratulate our esteemed Ivan Dmitriyevich on his election as a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences), we culled the most typical questions out of our most recent mail and invited renowned Soviet historians to answer them. Replies to our club's questionnaire were supplied by Academician I. Kovalchenko of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who is chief of the Moscow State University Oriental Studies and Historiography Department; Academician A. Samsonov of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Professor Yu. Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow Historical Archives Institute; and Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Naumov, chief of sector at the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute. [passage omitted]

V. Naumov: Indeed, the establishment of historical truth and historical glasnost has not only scientific but also moral aspects. Without this latter—moral—category in historical knowledge, any scientific approach to historical experience is unimaginable, and any profound cognition and mastery of the lessons taught by time are impossible. Historical glasnost is proof of our consistency in the implementation of restructuring.

The study of the period of Soviet history when the helm of party and state leadership was in the hands of V.I. Lenin occupies a central position among the immediate tasks of historical science.

The science of party history is facing the tasks of reinterpreting the ideological-theoretical struggle in the twenties, studying it at greater depth and more substantially on the basis of a broader range of sources, and studying the views and positions of eminent figures of the party and the Soviet state and scientists of that period, including those whose views were rejected by the party. Research into the ideological-theoretical struggle in the late twenties and the development of party life in the thirties deserves particular attention.

Today we can confidently say: The main causes which engendered ideological arguments within the party were the interests of the revolution, the interests of socialism.

At the same time, however, M.S. Gorbachev's report on the Great October 70th anniversary formulated the important conclusion, based on specific facts and documents, that "the nature of the ideological struggle at the time was rendered considerably more complex also by personal rivalry in the party leadership." Any research into these processes demands considerable depth of scientific analysis, study of sources, maximum accuracy of explanations, and utmost frankness in the depiction of historical events.

In this context it is also necessary to note another topical problem—the problem of the role of personality in history, the leader's authority, and the personality cult. As I have already said, many of history's tragic events were caused by unprincipled struggle for power and crimes committed through abuse of power. Consequently, when analyzing historical experience, it is necessary to bring to light the mechanism by which the personality cult emerged and became established, the role played in that process by the party and state apparatus and its bureaucracy, the orientation of the activity of party-political propaganda and mass media, and the moral-psychological climate in the party and throughout Soviet society. Research into these questions is a scientific, political, and moral task.

A. Samsonov: History should not be rewritten, nor is there any need for this. What has to be done is not to rewrite it but to overcome its shortcomings and defects, eliminate any "blank spots" in it, revive the Leninist perception of history, restore the truth of facts and phenomena, and reveal the entire complexity and contradictory nature of the historical process. That's all! This also applies, of course, to party history. Everything linked with the cult of Stalin's personality must be fully brought to light. After all, frankly speaking, supporters of the personality cult are still to be found today. I have already mentioned A. Rybakov's novel "Children of the Arbat." One could argue with individual aspects of this work, but after all the writer has boldly taken it on himself not only to approach history from the viewpoint of describing external facts relevant to his story, but also to penetrate Stalin's mentality and depict his personality. I believe that this must also be done by historians. They will be able to do this provided their hands are not tied (as they were until quite recently). There is a long-established tradition of presenting historical portraits. Stalin's portrait must be presented without being limited to what he "did right, for the people's benefit;" the violations of the law he committed must also be brought up. No historian can halt at the halfway mark. To present a complete historical portrait—this is the task of history today!

It is time to speak aloud about Stalin's crimes. This is necessary not only for the interpretation of facts but also and primarily for an uncompromising assessment of his role in history.

NEDELYA: Truth triumphant.... But after all, the restoration of undeservedly forgotten names is not just a matter of historical science but also a state and party matter....

V. Naumov: The elaboration of ways and methods of restructuring demanded a profound, comprehensive, and objective interpretation of history's lessons. This analysis contains an evaluation both of past events and of the activity of individual persons, including Stalin.

In providing a principled and unbiased description of Stalin's personality, historians proceed from the premise that it is impossible to equate Stalin with the entire party, with the millions of ordinary people whose loyalty to Lenin's ideas and the revolutionary ideals remained unwavering even in the grimmest and most tragic periods of our history. The power of Lenin's ideas which captivated the masses proved stronger than the power of the personality cult.

Evidence of this was provided by the very fact that it became possible to speak against past retreats from Leninism, from Lenin's concept of socialism, and from Lenin's methods for building socialism. The 20th CPSU Congress decisions represented the first step in this direction. There were several reasons why the deformations of Lenin's ideals of socialism were not fully and completely overcome at the time.

The 27th congress took decisive and consistent steps toward the complete restoration of Leninist style and methods in party activity.

As regards specific questions concerning the rehabilitation of those involved in the 1937-1938 political trials, it is well known that many of them have already been rehabilitated. This applies to a large group of eminent military figures and well-known party leaders like N. Krestinskiy, I. Smilga, G. Grinko, F. Khodzhayev, A. Ikramov, and L. Serebryakov. This is by no means a complete list of people who have been cleared of slanderous and forged accusations and whose good name has been restored. The process of restoring of justice continues. The CPSU Central Committee has set up a commission for comprehensive investigation of all instances of illegality and tyranny committed in the thirties and in subsequent years. It will, of course, take time to arrive at a profound, truly scientific, political solution.

Yu. Afanasyev: it seems to me that hitherto we have been unwilling (or unable)—and I do not mean just historians—to realize the following in all its depth: We are still living under "old-fashioned" socialism. Much has, of course, changed in the past few years. We are living through the reality of glasnost, we are talking about—not only talking but already doing something about—the democratization of our society: Transformations are under way as regards the improvement of the economic leadership mechanism and other spheres of our activity. Nonetheless, the basic structures—economic, social, and

political—which took shape in Stalin's time still remain in existence. This problem—the problem of overcoming Stalinism—seems to me to be one of the most topical problems also for historical science. Today it is clear that Khrushchev's methods cannot be used to renounce Stalin. (N.S. Khrushchev committed what I would describe as a pagan act in this respect—getting rid of Stalin by removing him from the mausoleum.) What is needed is, first, a more profound and more essential awareness of the economic, social, and political structures which made Stalinism possible and, second, and in addition to this awareness, we also need implementation of the measures now planned as part of restructuring.

It is here that historical science must get down to work as actively as possible. But now one can perceive in our press a trend (which is already quite clearly visible) to hold on to political and ideological practices which have already been compromised and to shield them from the necessary reinterpretation.... This is being done in two ways. First, with the help of half-truths, as always in the past: In other words, say something but do not mention anything important or substantial. But something new has also appeared: The construction of a "truth" which consists of two halves—"on the one hand, on the other hand...." On the one hand, there were crimes, repressions, and moral degradation of our society. On the other hand, however, there were joy, enthusiasm, and great accomplishments. Thus everything appears normal—some sort of balanced construction is produced: Both this and that existed, they claim. Fair enough, but where is the whole? Where is the totality? After all, this eclecticism is of no help to us in understanding the past, and especially a period of the past like the personality cult years, which were so complex and ambiguous. It is only natural that without such knowledge we cannot even think of overcoming Stalinism.

A. Samsonov: Today we talk a lot about the fate of people who suffered the blows of Stalin's repressions. But why is it that we know nothing about the personalities of those who perpetrated the terror, who were the real executors and ideologists of the violations of Lenin's principles of socialism and legality?

This is, of course, a difficult and, I would say, even painful question. But I do believe that this information must also be brought to light.

...Today there is only any point in describing our history comprehensively. Light, as well as darkness. Even though light may have predominated (which actually did happen), there did exist at the same time dark and tragic aspects of our history. The Soviet people's past must be presented as it actually was—revolutionary, assertive, abounding in great accomplishments in the development of the economy, the social and spiritual spheres, and the political system, and with historic victories in the struggle for the motherland's freedom and independence, but at the same time we must not conceal the difficulties and contradictions in our history, our tragedies. If historians engage in such a conversation with the readers, our science will have fully lived up to its purpose. Then we will be trusted!

NEDELYA: The 27th CPSU Congress mentioned the urgent need to produce a new textbook on the history of the CPSU.

How is this work progressing?

V. Naumov: One of the most acute, pressing, and I would even say painful problems is to elaborate a truly scientific, a truly Leninist concept of party history. Successful work along this avenue will determine the advance of our entire science. Of course, many facts are already known to historians, and the falsification of individual phenomena in the description of the past has already been exposed, but it seems to me that prevailing stereotypes have not yet been overcome: Essentially, we still frequently repeat rejected postulates and reproduce old concepts.

Neither a flood of sensational facts, nor deliberations on the distortion of history, nor the perfectly natural emotions caused by tragic events in our history are in a position to replace conceptual solutions. These solutions will make up the positive program which will determine the position of new facts in the historical process and will produce a responsible analysis of historical phenomena. Such a program will not only prepare the readers for perception of the new and for interpretation of historical events, without creating any nihilistic attitudes to the past, but will also pave the way for scientific elaboration of new avenues in party history, for the creation of a new textbook on the history of the CPSU.

Stenographic records of a number of party congresses and a number of monographs on key periods in party history are being prepared for publication. But the Marxism-Leninism Institute is not limiting itself to purely scientific work—popular works intended for a broad readership are also planned for publication.

NEDELYA: Do Soviet historians encounter any problems as regards archives? Do you think it necessary to publish archive documents for a broad readership, if only those that have been preserved and are not only of scientific but also of moral and political interest?

A. Samsonov: Such material is extremely necessary! In the past we had a special journal which published documents. Alas, now it no longer exists. You were correct in hinting that it is important to publish not just extracts from various sources but to publish these sources in full. For example, back in the past the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department and History of the USSR Institute prepared and published a multivolume series of documents on the history of 1905-1907. This was a complete source without exceptions, with nothing abbreviated or overlooked. A similar task has

now been assigned to the War History Institute in connection with documents from the Great Patriotic War. This is, of course, an important task. About a year ago the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department Bureau heard a report from the institute. The following questions were asked: "Will the documentary archive of the Supreme High Command Headquarters be published in full? The exchanges between headquarters and the fronts and armies?" The leadership of the War History Institute could not give an unambiguous answer at the time. There has been no answer to this day. The question, as people say, "is being resolved," "is being studied," and consequently there are no particular hopes as regards publication....

Here is another example. The scientific and popular press recently carried a series of articles on events at the time of the battle for Moscow. In this context they touched on the question of the events of 16-18 October 1941 in Moscow, when the alarm caused in the city by rumors about preparations to blow up the capital threatened to develop into panic. Enterprises were closing down, many leaders were abandoning everything, packing their families in cars, and fleeing eastward....

It is hard to understand why this happened without study of the necessary archive documents.

In my view, a problem exists with archives, just like the problem of releasing the researcher from trivial supervision by publishing house editors. Unless these problems are resolved, our history will not move away from the pitiful situation in which it finds itself today. Access for researchers to all documents and publication of everything in which the mass readership is seriously interested—these are the ways to solve it.

V. Naumov: The discussion on archive problems has become more acute recently. Moreover, complaints by historians and ordinary readers alike about the inaccessibility of archives can be heard at the same time as claims that almost all archives are open, that all you have to do is show some interest and Sesame will open.

There is no question that any significant stepping up of historians' creative activeness is impossible without familiarity with the whole range of sources. But I dare remark that our scientific work is still not familiar even with documents that have already been published! Even what was "released" for scientific circulation a very long time ago has not yet been studied. Therefore, in my view, the question of archives is primarily a question of standards of work with documents.

NEDELYA: It is not just we ourselves who are showing greater interest in our own history. A multiplicity of works have appeared abroad recently, making attempts to interpret Soviet history from non-Marxist positions.

How do our scientists react to these attempts now?

Yu. Afanasyev: I would look at mutual relations with non-Marxist science not just as a historiographical problem or a problem of historical science, but from a much broader viewpoint, as a problem of general culture. It seems to me that our attitude to non-Marxist historiography and the actual contrast between "them and us" in all its varieties during the years of Soviet power display an attitude to "someone else" altogether. In determining our attitude to non-Marxist science, we still frequently stick to the belief (it is just as well that this belief is not universal) that "their" social science is something half-baked, something like a sack full of facts which only we Marxists, possessed of the philosophers' stone, can transmute into genuine scientific knowledge.

This stereotype must be demolished. There is no need to speak of how important this is while we are taking the first steps in conformity with the Delhi Declaration. The attitude to others in the social science sphere in conformity with these principles is in no way an erosion of distinctions, it is not some kind of eclecticism, it is not a lack of principle: It is the only possible standard of scientific contacts in our time.

Yes, of course, the general term "non-Marxist social science" conceals all sorts of things, including things that are altogether unconnected with science: fabrications, propaganda stereotypes, prejudices. It is possible and probably necessary to struggle against all this. As for scientific postulates as such, no struggle is waged against them; whenever facts and theories may necessitate it, they are assimilated and overcome. Furthermore, non-Marxist social sciences must not be perceived from the very beginning, even before being studied, as being irretrievably and firmly within the enemy camp. After all, it is here that we perceive the continuing effect of Stalin's notorious creed: "Whoever is not with us is against us." This is what prevented us from seeing and hearing other people, from mastering the achievements of world culture, and as a result made us biased, "closed," and unfree.

Any attempts to interpret our (and the world's) historical process from non-Marxist viewpoints must be treated seriously, like a proper science. The entire history of this science, beginning in the time before Marx, is a justification for such an attitude. Of course we must argue with it, of course we should not agree with everything, but this must be a dialogue between equals, without attributing in advance superiority to ourselves and inbred decline to non-Marxist social scientists.

This prejudiced approach of ours gained dominance in the early thirties and, virtually until the most recent past, we lived in a state of intellectual self-isolation. We already see a third generation of Soviet historians developing, and most of them are totally ignorant of trends in humanist and social thinking abroad. Add to this the fact that many of us were shaped as scientists and personalities in detachment from our own historical and philosophical heritage, and you can imagine the problems we

have to eliminate! This is one of the causes of the general "sclerosis" which is so typical of our social science, of its relative infertility for more than 50 years.

A paradoxical situation has developed. On the one hand, Marxism today is broadly represented in non-Marxist science both as a method and as some initial stipulation, and even (and not all that rarely) as a final conclusion. Of course, this does not make history abroad Marxist. At the same time, our own Soviet historical science, and especially the sections studying the history of Soviet society and the history of the CPSU, is largely flooded by Stalinist schemes. In defending it we are defending, maybe even without realizing it, not Marxism-Leninism but a distortion of it.

Briefs

New Rayons in Kiev

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine has established two new rayons in Kiev, called Kharkovskiy and Vatutinskiy. The city now has 14 rayons, organized in connection with the construction of large housing estates, especially on the left bank of the Dnepr, where the population will reach 1 million by the end of the present 5-year plan. The new rayons will also be getting a new subway line and a southern bridge over the Dnepr, which is already under construction. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 2 Jan 88 LD*]

New Weekly Published

The first edition of a newly founded national weekly SEMYA or FAMILY, has been published in Moscow. The magazine is issued by the Soviet Children's Fund, set up recently, which seeks to help the government in taking care of the younger generation and strengthening the family. [Text] [*Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 4 Jan 88 LD*]

New Teachers Organization

Moscow January 7 TASS—A new social organization—the Soviet Committee of the Teachers for Peace Movement—has been formed in this country. Its founders' meeting at a constituent conference here today decided that its principal mission will be to involve teaching staff in active efforts for peace, plan and hold anti-war activities jointly with other social organizations and anti-war movements, and educate the younger generation in a spirit of peace, Soviet patriotism and internationalism. The committee is going to form and develop contacts with various international organizations. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 7 Jan 88 LD*]

Oil Deposits Confirmed

Geologists' forecasts about the presence of oil deposits in Khabarovsky Kray have been confirmed. The Far East Geological Expedition Collective has proved that it is worth making deep level surveys, and two wells will be drilled in the central Amur depression. Deposits near the BAM may also be promising. Specialists believe that there are hundreds of millions of tonnes of oil in the kray. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 9 Jan 88 LD*]

Economic

New System Brings 'No Major Leap Forward'

PM071153 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Economic Accountability: Initial Lessons"]

[Excerpts] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has supplied the editorial office with data on the work of industrial enterprises transferred to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing.

It is only a matter of days before thousands of labor collectives switch en masse to the new methods of economic management. Consequently, there is naturally special interest in the experience of enterprises and sectors which have experienced these methods in practice. It must be frankly said: So far there has been no major leap forward. For example, the fulfillment of the output sales plan taking contractual deliveries into account by industry as a whole amounted to 98.3% during the 1st 11 months. This indicator stands at 98.6% for economically accountable enterprises. Is it better? Of course. But it is still far from the 100% mark.

Even so, however, an analysis of the work of economically accountable collectives brings to light an important trend which must be noticed. They are learning a thrifty attitude toward resources. They are learning stewardship!

This is indicated in particular by the dynamics of falling production costs. During the 1st 6 months of this year the prime costs of industrial output as a whole fell 0.6% compared with the same period last year. There was a fall of 0.8% at economically accountable enterprises. The gap widened still further at the end of the first 9 months. Industry as a whole was still at the same 0.6%. Economically accountable collectives reached the 1% mark. The indicators for the first 11 months stood at 0.7% and 1.1% respectively...

There is a particularly fast decline in costs at economically accountable enterprises in the machine building complex. They have achieved 1.6% against an average of 0.5%! (Data for the first 9 months.)

It would seem logical to suppose that the profits ought to rise in proportion to the decline in costs. Alas! So far this pattern does not hold. Money earned at the cost of

considerable labor has gone to pay fines in respect of output not delivered according to contract. Furthermore, production costs at quite a few economically accountable collectives were significantly higher than envisaged by plan estimates. In January-October, for example, actual prime costs were higher than planned at every enterprise under the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, at one enterprise in three under the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, and the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, and at every other enterprise under the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building.

The overall result is that the profits plan for the 1st 10 months was fulfilled only by the Ministry of the Automotive Industry.... [passage omitted]

Yes, we find it difficult to cope with economic accountability... This was probably only to be expected, bearing in mind that we are trying to squeeze new methods of economic management into the rigid scheme of an economy run by administrative edict. Surely we knew about the imbalances existing between some sectors? Surely we were aware of the lack of coordination between production plans and material supply plans? We knew. We were aware. But, in the hope that "luck" would come to the rescue, we continued to burden many collectives with targets that were either known to be unrealistic, or known to be unbalanced, or known to lack financial and material backing.

But the "luck" that once came to the rescue no longer does so. Lack of coordination and deficiencies built into production programs by the plan surface regardless of anything (amendments are prohibited!).

Even worse, some traditional (for lack of a better word) methods of shaping production programs still make themselves felt today. On the one hand, there are grating complaints that they are excessively overloaded with state orders, and on the other hand... It became clear at the very end of November that over 30% of the output planned for manufacture next year by enterprises under the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, and the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building is still waiting for customers. Delivery contracts have not yet been concluded! Yet the production cycle at these enterprises is several months... So much for state orders! So much for economic accountability!

The coming year will be difficult. Economic levers exist alongside administrative ones. For some time to come we will have to work under two systems of economic management. Nevertheless, now we are taking an exceptionally important and great step forward. The sphere of action of economic interests is expanding immensely. Let's hope as well that administrative pressure will noticeably decline and the rumbling imperious voice will be muted within this sphere.

Agricultural

National Development Plan on Grain Figures

LD090411 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] This year the Soviet Union is planning to take in 235 million tons of grain. The figure has been included in the national development plan on the basis of calculations by experts of the agro-industrial committee in Moscow. In 1987, which was unfavorable in terms of the weather, the nation took in 210 million tons, which was the best showing of this decade. Broader use of the latest technology promises new horizons in farming.

Ideas for Increasing Beef Production Suggested

PM081525 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Gavrichkin Agricultural Review: "Something Or Other"]

[Excerpts] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that in 1987 74.3 million tonnes of milk were purchased in the country—an increase of 3%; 21.8 million tonnes of livestock and poultry (in live weight) were purchased—an increase of 9%; and 55.5 billion eggs were purchased, which is 4% more than the previous year.

Our milk and meat supplies are not easy to obtain. That is especially so now, during the winter. Judging from the figures given above, however, livestock farmers have been coping with their task well on the whole. That is true not only for the present. In the past few years the statistics have recorded a stable increase in purchases of livestock produce. There is still not enough meat or milk, of course, but matters have at last begun to move after a long standstill. [passage omitted]

When we speak about "meat" we mean primarily beef. That goes without saying. In 1986, for instance, beef comprised 7.84 million tonnes of the 18 million tonnes of meat produced in the country. The proportion of beef in the amount produced last year also remained virtually unchanged. [passage omitted]

In 1986 the average milk yield per cow in the country was 2,604 kg. This is not enough, of course, but we have never achieved such a result. Mindful of the scarcity of feed, farm managers reduced the herd by 600,000 head without prejudice to the gross milk production figure. In the past year the average milk yield rose still further. Thus stockraisers are surely taking advantage of the new opportunity to get rid of surplus cows; animals whose productivity is low are being slaughtered. In general this is the right way to work. [passage omitted]

The arithmetic of the problem is simple: One beef cow should be added to the herd in place of each dairy cow slaughtered. (For the uninitiated, beef cattle are not milked: Calves are suckled, and when they get a bit bigger they are sent off to be fattened).

But it is not all as simple as it seems. The problem is to fundamentally change the entire structure of the cattle herd. Let us compare: The country now has approximately 42 million dairy cattle and only 1.2 million beef cattle whereas the United States, for example, has 11 million and 35 million, respectively. As I was told at the USSR Gosagroprom, by 1990 it is planned to increase the beef herd to 6 million, including around 5 million cows. Extremely small figures!

But even such a modest target will be difficult to achieve. If you calculate in terms of "head" of livestock, the pedigree herd seems sufficient to supply the country's commercial beef farms with calves. This herd, however, is in an extremely neglected state because of being constantly underfed and poorly tended. Many specialized plants, sovkhozes, and livestock units may be considered pedigree in name only.

Nevertheless, there is a way which makes it possible to more intensively develop meat stockraising as an independent sector. In various parts of the country there are quite a few low productivity dairy units and farms which keep Simmenthal cattle, that is, a beef and dairy breed. Such livestock units often cannot make ends meet because of their lack of roads and acute shortage of manpower. The transfer to economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-capitalization urgently require a review of the specialization there. This will create the objective preconditions for switching such livestock units and farms to meat production. After all, meat-producing farms require far fewer people, prime costs are 4-5 times lower, and the feed problem is simplified.

Furthermore, there are enthusiastic people around ready to assume the burden of providing scientific support for establishing meat production as an independent sector. In Orenburg, for example, specialists at the all-union meat stockraising scientific research institute are now working on the creation of a new breed of cattle—beef Simmenthals. Quite a lot has been done there to develop a technique for the efficient management of the sector. All it needs is to practically apply all this on a broad scale. That is what agro-industrial committees can and must do right now.

Military

Yefimov on 'Fast, Furious' Progress

AU081454 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Jan 87 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and deputy minister of defense, given by an unidentified NOVOSTI correspondent, "specially for NARODNA ARMIYA": "At All Altitudes and Speeds"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [NOVOSTI correspondent] What can you say about the prospects in the development of military aviation?

[Yefimov] The research being conducted in different countries in the world makes it possible to assume that by the year 2000 aircraft will appear that will be superior to many of the contemporary winged aircraft in a number of flying characteristics, as well as in reliability and economy. For example, three types of hypersonic aircraft are under discussion. It is possible that such machines may make their appearance in the form of surveillance aircraft and interceptors. Much attention is being given to developing short-takeoff and vertical-landing aircraft capable of operating from damaged airstrips. Many other projects are being proposed, and time will tell which of these will be embodied in real designs. One thing cannot be disputed, however: The fast and furious progress in this field promises many changes.

Yet it is not the aim of the USSR to promote the arms race, and that includes the field of aviation weapons. The USSR supports the achievement of complete general disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. At their conference in Berlin the Warsaw Pact states adopted a document that clearly and unmistakably states that the socialist countries' military doctrine is defensive in nature and is based on the need to maintain the balance of armed forces at the lowest possible level.

The Soviet Air Force, in close collaboration with the aircrews of the armies of the socialist community, firmly stand on guard in defense of peace and the great achievements of socialism.

Lushev, Madudov Address Ural Military Aktiv

PM081259 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[Report by Major A. Bugay: "Party Life: Reports on the Course of Restructuring: What Is Slowing the Renewal Down?"]

[Excerpts] Ural Military District—"The progress of the process of restructuring among the district's troops is complex, contradictory, uneven, and—most important—intolerably slow. It is running into various social, psychological, and organizational obstacles and meeting with internal resistance from those people who have become accustomed to working in the old way, who are afraid, and who cannot or will not change their style of thinking and activity. Matters have been considerably slowed down here by the lack of exactingness, irresponsibility, and inefficiency of a number of leaders, attempts to embellish the true state of affairs, a long-standing preference for frequent conferences and for paperwork, and a blind faith in the power of plans and decisions"—this was said by Lieutenant General N. Madudov, commander of the district's forces, at a party aktiv meeting

which concerned progress in restructuring the work of military cadres, political organs, and party organizations in light of 27th CPSU Congress decisions. [passage omitted]

Army General P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, took part in the work of the party aktiv meeting and addressed it.

Uzbek Cadres Discuss Reorganization

NC110823 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] A meeting of Red Bannered Turkestan Military Okrug active party members in Tashkent yesterday dealt with the status of efforts to reorganize the military cadres, political organs, and party organizations and improve the results of reorganization efforts in accordance with the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee on defense questions. Also discussed were matters related to the tasks of Turkestan fighters in the current educational year.

Lieutenant General Stepan (?Mukhi), member of the Turkestan Military Okrug Council and chief of the Political Directorate, read a report. The report and speeches by other participants put forward practical suggestions for (?improving) the communists' role in efforts to further consolidate individuals' military preparations during the second stage of the reconstruction era.

Colonel General Popov, commander of the Red Bannered Turkestan Military Okrug, addressed the meeting. Comrade Nishanov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, also participated.